THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS,

TO

THE YEAR 1803.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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1607

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

1607

HENRY ADDINGTON,

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, &c. &c. &c.

THIS SECOND AND LAST VOLUME

OF

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

IS,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF RESPECT

AND ESTEEM,

INSCRIBED,

BY HIS

MOST FAITHFUL

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. X.

Continuation of the Reign of Henry VIII.

THUS, mutual recriminations taking place, which dissolved their former ties, Henry hesitated not to conclude an alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions. The regent also, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor, for one million eight hundred thousand crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns; after which the king of England was to receive, during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand. A large present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him, for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

To support the approaching war with the emperor, Henry again renewed his impositions by way of *benevolence*; but the people bore not these exactions with their usual patience. The odium against the cardinal, to whom these oppressive counsels were attributed, increased; and he en-

deavoured to lessen it, by making his master a present of a splendid palace, which he had built at Hampton-court, but which he was afraid to inhabit himself, in the present temper of the nation.

In the mean time, the transactions on the continent claimed the constant attention of Henry. Soon after the defeat of Pavia, Francis had been removed to the castle of Madrid; but the terms demanded as the price of his liberty were such, that he declared himself determined to die, rather than submit to them. At last the emperor, dreading a general combination againt him, was willing to abate somewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid was signed, by which it was hoped an end would be finally put to the differences between these great monarchs. The principal condition, was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons, as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy. If any difficulty should afterward occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states, either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated, that in six weeks time he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely severe upon the captive monarch.

A. D. 1524. Charles's ministers foresaw that Francis would never execute a treaty so destructive to himself and his country; and they were not mistaken in their judgment. Francis, on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldest sons as hostages into the hands of the Spaniards. He then mounted a Turkish horse,

horse, and immediately putting him to the gallop, waved his hand, and cried aloud several times, "I am yet a king." He soon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging, that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and protesting that he should be entirely governed by his counsels, in all transactions with the emperor. The states of Burgundy soon met; and declaring against the clause which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expressed their resolution of opposing, even by force of arms, the execution of so ruinous and unjust an article. The imperial minister then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should now return to his prison; but the French monarch, instead of complying, made public the treaty, which a little before he had secretly concluded at Cognac, against the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the emperor.

Pope Clement, who suspected that this prince would never execute a treaty so hurtful to his interests, and even destructive of his independency, very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements; and was instrumental in forming a confederacy in his favour. It was stipulated by Francis, the Pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France, on receiving a reasonable sum of money. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the "holy league," as

this was called; and accordingly, he joined it with ardour.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Bourbon had got possession of the Milanese; and finding that exhausted country unable to support his troops, he formed the bold design of leading them against Rome, and was killed as he was planting a scaling ladder against the walls of that city. But his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault, forced their way sword in hand, and subjected, from their brutality, the ancient capital of Italy to greater calamities than she had ever endured from the northern barbarians. The pope, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, was taken captive; and found his dignity insulted by the Spanish soldiers.

A. D. 1527. A few days before the sack of Rome, Henry and Francis had concluded a treaty at Wesminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns, as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and, in case of refusal, the ambassadors, attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war against him, which was to be carried on in the Low Countries. But no sooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprise, than they changed, by a new treaty, the scence of the projected war, from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther stimulated to attempt restoring him to liberty. Wolsey himself crossed the sea, in order to have an interview with Fran-

cis,

cis, and to concert measures for that purpose; displaying on this occasion, all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was so much intoxicated. The French monarch made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced some miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary; and as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it.

The more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was some time after concluded at London; in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which had often been fatal to the tranquillity of both countries. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever, fifty thousand crowns a year, to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this compact, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. Thus, the terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the rival nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became the chief object of jealousy to the English.

This union, however, between France and England, was not able to bend the emperor; and from the prosecution of the war, Henry's attention was in some measure withdrawn to his domestic situation. His marriage with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not

passed without scruple; the prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the doubts which had arose in the mind of Henry were strengthened by several extrinsic circumstances.

The queen was older than the king by no less than six years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaical law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession too of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. Thus the king was impelled, both by his private passions, and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious, and, as it was esteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

The archbishop of Canterbury, and his brethren, with the exception of the bishop of Rochester, pronounced the king's marriage unlawful; Wolsey also fortified the scruples of his master; but passion needed not any other promptor or motive than itself.

Anne

Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, in the quality of maid of honour to the queen, had acquired an entire ascendant over Henry's affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. Henry's scruples or aversion had for some time made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he still supported an intercourse of civility and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the frequent visits which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accomplishments of her mind no wise inferior to her exterior graces, and that she was not to be won on easier terms, he soon conceived the design of raising her to the throne; and as every motive of inclination and policy seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, he resolved to make application to pope Clement, to whom he dispatched Knight, his secretary, for this express purpose. Knight found the pope, who was still in the hands of the emperor, favourably disposed; and when Clement recovered his liberty, he confirmed his professions, and granted a commission, to try the validity of the marriage, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined with Wolsey; but the former was instructed to defer the decision by the most artful delays. The harangue of the queen was pathetic and affecting; she refused to answer the citation of the legates; she observed, she had been the wife of Henry during twenty years, and

A. D. 1528.

and would appeal to himself, whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited better treatment; and the king, while he urged again his scruples, was obliged to confess that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife.

The trial had now been spun out for a considerable period; and the king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when the menaces and promises of Charles proved successful; and Clement, in compliance, as he affected, of the queen's appeal, adjourned the cause to his own personal judgment at Rome.

Wolsey had long foreseen the failure, as the forerunner of his ruin; for though he had employed himself with assiduity to bring the suit to an happy issue, he knew the impatience of Henry's temper, would not brook disappointment, or protracted delay. Influenced by Anne Boleyn and his own passions, the king now determined to sink the cardinal with a motion almost as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent to require the great seal from him, which was delivered to sir Thomas More. All his furniture and plate were seized; and he was ordered to retire to Esher, a country-seat which he possessed near Hampton-court.

Henry, however, seemed willing, during some time, to intermit the blows which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in possession of the sees of York and Winchester. He even sent him a gracious message, accompanied with a ring, as a testimony of his affection. Wolsey, who was on horseback when the messenger met him, immediately alighted; and

and throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him; thus confirming the maxim, "that he who is arrogant in prosperity will be abject in adversity."

But the cardinal's enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceased plying the king with accounts of his demerits; and Henry not only ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, but abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament. He was indicted on an obsolete statute for having procured bulls from Rome; and he was pronounced to be out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his person might be committed to custody. But this prosecution of Wolsey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture, and still continued from time to time to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him.

About this time the complaints against the usurpations of the ecclesiastics became so prevalent in England, that the commons passed several bills restraining their impositions. The difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce had often tempted Henry to break off all connections with the court of Rome; but he dreaded the reproach of heresy; and having once exerted himself in defence of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed, which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

Dr.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, a man remarkable for his learning, and still more for the candour and disinterestedness of his temper, falling one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner, the business of the divorce became the subject of the conversation. Cranmer observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorses would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom. When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it; and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear: he sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents, to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe.

A. D. 1530. The universities of France, of Venice, Ferrara, Padua, and Bologna, as well as of Oxford and Cambridge, after some hesitation, gave a verdict in the king's favour. The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid. But Clement, still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king either by himself or proxy, neither of which alternatives could be complied with.

The

The extremities to which Henry was pushed, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, were naturally disagreeable to cardinal Wolsey; and as the king foresaw his opposition, it is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his renewing the prosecution against his ancient favourite. After Wolsey had remained some time at Esher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond; but the courtiers, dreading still his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of York. The cardinal knew it was in vain to resist: he took up his residence at Cawood in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood by his affability and hospitality; but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to take his trial. The cardinal, partly from fatigue, and partly from agitation, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and with some difficulty, he reached Leicester-abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired, among other expressions, he used the following, to sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody: "Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would "not have given me over in my grey hairs. "But this is the just reward that I must receive "for

"for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore let me advise you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head: for you can never put it out again."

Thus died this famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained a singular variety of good and bad qualities, but who, with all his foibles, was unquestionably a great man, and an able minister.

A. D. 1531. A new session of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and from the latter a confession was extorted, that the "king was the protector, and the supreme head of the clergy of England." In the ensuing parliament, an act was passed against levying the annates or first-fruits; and it was also voted, that any censures which should be passed by the court of Rome on account of that law, should be entirely disregarded.

Sir Thomas More the chancellor, anticipating a separation from the church of Rome, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and descended from his high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had nowise encroached on the gentleness of his temper, or even diminished that frolic and gaiety to which he was naturally inclined. While his family discovered symptoms of sorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accustomed, he drew a subject of mirth from their distresses; and made them ashamed of losing

ing even a moment's cheerfulness, on account of such trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal, soon after, to sir Thomas Audley.

Henry, having now gone too far to recede, privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Her early pregnancy gave the king great satisfaction; and an act being passed against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony and divorces, Henry publicly owned his marriage, and commanded Catherine, whom he had hitherto treated with respect, to style herself hereafter princess dowager of Wales. A. D. 1533.

On intelligence of these transactions, Clement declared the nullity of Henry's second marriage, and threatened him with excommunication. Soon after, by a precipitate sentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry actually declared to be excommunicated, if he refused to adhere to it. This violent measure effectually shut the door of reconciliation; and the parliament being entirely at the king's devotion, passed several laws which put an end to the exercise of the papal jurisdiction in England.

But the most important law passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown. The marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect; and the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage,

marriage, and failing them, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels.

A. D. 1534. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note who scrupled the oath of succession. The latter, with his usual wisdom and integrity, declared he thought the parliament had full power to settle the succession; but he refused the oath prescribed by law, because the preamble of that oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer the primate, and Cromwel, now secretary of state, who highly loved and esteemed More, entreated him to lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refusal. He persisted, however, in a mild though firm manner, to maintain his resolution; and the king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

The parliament being again assembled, conferred on the king the title of the only supreme head on earth of the church of England; as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the parliament acknowledged his inherent power "to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority, or jurisdiction."

risdiction." They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They also attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason; and they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefits of the English laws.

While Henry proceeded with so much order in changing the national religion, he was held in some inquietude by the state of affairs in Ireland. The young earl of Kildare, resenting the imprisonment of his father, had taken arms, and joined some of the Irish nobles; but being obliged to surrender, he was carried over to England with his five uncles, where all, after a short trial, were executed.

But though Henry had rejected the authority of the see of Rome, he was by no means disposed to encourage the opinions of the reformers. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and sword the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

Henry's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers. Cromwel, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced

 the

the same views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity; virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had inlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him one of its principal supporters.

The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled by the courtship paid him both by protestants and catholics, to assume an unbounded authority. The ambiguity of his conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects: the writings of the Lutherans were privately imported into England; and a translation of the Scripture, by Tindal, an Englishman who had fled from the king's displeasure to Antwerp, increased the number of converts; and was justly deemed one of the most fatal blows to the established faith.

Though several persons were brought to the stake for their adherence to the protestant doctrines, yet Henry knew his most formidable enemies were the monks, who having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence

quence of abolishing his authority in England. Some of these were detected in a conspiracy that proved fatal to themselves. Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the "Holy maid of Kent," had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which, as she was scarcely conscious of during the time, had soon after entirely escaped her memory. The silly people in the neighbourhood were struck with these appearances, which they imagined to be supernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, a designing fellow, founded on them a project, from which he hoped to acquire both profit and consideration. He went to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he so far wrought on that prudent but superstitious prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future sayings. The regard paid her by a person of so high a rank, soon rendered her still more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was easy for Masters to persuade them, as well as the maid herself, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery, as is usual, soon after succeeding to delusion, she learned to counterfeit trances; and then uttered such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director.

Masters associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and though their design at first was only to raise the credit of an image of the Virgin, finding their imposture succeeded, they extended their views, and taught their

penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, and to prophecy the death of the king, if he persisted in his intended divorce from Catherine. Henry at length began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, they confessed, and suffered for their guilt. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophetess's miracles was detected; and even the scandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public.

A. D. 1535.

The detection of this imposture hurt the credit of the monks; the king, to take vengeance on them, suppressed three monasteries; and finding the little clamour excited by this act of power, he was more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile he exercised punishments on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to deprive the king of his dignity or titles; they had lately added to his other tities that of supreme head of the church; and hence it was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason. Many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt; and Henry, impelled by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, proceeded to make examples of Fisher and More.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, still more than for his ecclesiastical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes, and without con-

sideration

sideration of his extreme age, or his former rank, he was allowed nothing but rags. In this condition, he lay in prison above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompence the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal, without his privity or concurrence. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king; and Fisher being indicted for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

The execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whose compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiously desired by the king. That prince also bore as great personal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the sport of passions, was susceptible of towards a man who in any particular opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor-general, was sent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who observed a cautious silence with regard to the supremacy: he was only inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative, was a two-edged sword: if a person answer one way, it will confound his soul; if another, it will destroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner. His silence was called malicious,

malicious, and made a part of his crime; and these words, which had casually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the supremacy. Trials now were mere formalities: the jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, " Friend, help me up, and when I come down again let me shift for myself." The executioner asking him forgiveness he granted the request, but told him, " you will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard; " for," said he, " it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a cause, more worthy of such a sacrifice More was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

When the intelligence of these executions was carried to Rome, Paul III. who had succeeded Clement in the apostolic chair, excommunicated the king and his adherents, deprived him of his crown, and gave his kingdom to any invader; but Henry was little alarmed by these measures. He knew the emperor, whose enmity alone he had reason to apprehend, was at that time hard pressed by the Turks and the protestant princes of Germany; and an incident which happened soon after seemed to open the way for a reconciliation between himself

A. D. 1536.

self and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave: she died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king; in which she gave him the appellation of her most dear lord, king, and husband; and concluded with these words, "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things." The king was touched even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival, beyond what decency or humanity could permit.

The emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France; but his advances were received with coldness, and the ill success that he met with in his invasion of Provence, served to render the king of England more indifferent to his proffered friendship.

Henry, conscious of the advantages of his situation, at last determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues. He delegated his supremacy to Cromwel, who was then secretary of state; and who employed commissioners to inquire into the conduct and deportment of the friars. The reports of these were most unfavourable; and, if we may credit the suspicious evidence they collected, monstrous disorders prevailed in many of the religious houses.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition, surrendered their revenues

into the king's hands; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were then given to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four and twenty. The doors of the convents were next opened, even to such as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions, which had long been the objects of the most profound veneration.

The king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic orders, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no further at present, than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year. By this act, three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more. It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law: so absolute was Henry's authority! and indeed in several important civil regulations, he found the parliament equally obsequious.

After all the wished-for laws were passed, the king dissolved the parliament: a parliament memorable not only for the great and important innovations

innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had sitten, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. The convocation also sat during this session; and a great point was gained by the reformers, in a vote being passed for publishing a new translation of the scriptures.

But while the supporters of the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a severe mortification in the fate of their patroness Anne Boleyn, who lost her life by the rage of her ferocious consort. Having been delivered of a dead son, she had disappointed Henry in his extreme fondness for male issue. Though she appears to have been really innocent, her levity of manners, and her familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, had offended the king's dignity. The viscountess Rocheford, a profligate woman, who was married to the queen's brother, insinuated the most cruel suspicions into Henry's mind; she pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the chamber, together with Mark Smeton, being observed to possess much of the queen's friendship, likewise became objects of suspicion. The king, whose love was already transferred to Jane, daughter of sir John Seymour, laid hold of the slightest circumstance which his jealousy could fix on, and vented his fury on all within his reach. In a tilting at Greenwich, the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably casual, but interpreted by the king as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours. On this he immediately

mediately arrested Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Rocheford; and ordered the queen next day to be carried to the Tower.

Anne, conscious of his unrelenting spirit, while she asserted her innocence, prepared for the melancholy doom which awaited her. From the Tower she wrote her husband a letter, full of the most tender expostulations; but this had no influence on his obdurate mind. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession; for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were also Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him, if he would confess his crime, and accuse the queen: but he generously rejected the proposal; and said, that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers; the chief evidence amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed, before some company. Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with great presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given against her and Rocheford: when the dreadful sentence was pronounced, she was not terrified; but lifting up her hands to heaven, said, " O Father, O Creator, thou who art the way, the truth, and the life; thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate!"

fate!" Resigning all hopes of life, she sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: from a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter Elizabeth to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The executioner," she said to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very slender:" upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. After suffering decapitation, her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower.

The innocence of Anne Boleyn can scarcely be called in question; and the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour, the very day after the execution. The parliament had the meanness to join in gratifying his lawless passions; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered by his will to dispose of the crown.

The convocation were not less obsequious: according to the wishes of Henry, they determined the standard of faith to consist in the scriptures, and the three creeds, the Apostolic,

 Nicene,

Nicene, and Athanasian; auricular confession and penance were admitted; but no mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments; and in this omission the influence of the protestants appeared. The real presence, however, was asserted, conformably to the ancient doctrine; while the terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitably to the new principles.

These articles were formed by the convocation, corrected by the king, whose faith was to be the standard of his subjects' belief, and subscribed by every member of that assembly. The multitude, however, were less tractable. The expelled monks, wandering about, excited both the piety and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives, suited to vulgar minds, it was able, now it was brought in apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favour. The first rising was in Lincolnshire, and consisted of twenty thousand men; but on the appearance of the duke of Suffolk, at the head of some regular forces, and secret assurances of pardon, they dispersed, and only a few of the ringleaders suffered.

But in the north, the revolt assumed a more serious appearance. The insurgents were led by Aske, a gentleman who possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprise they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*: they took an oath that their only motives were the love of God; their care of the king's person and issue; their desire of purifying the nobility, of restoring the church,

church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these pretences, forty thousand hardy enthusiasts marched beneath a banner which represented the five wounds of Christ; and the countenance of the archbishop of York, and lord Darcy, at once sanctioned and supported the rebellion. A. D. 1537.

The duke of Norfolk was appointed general against the rebels, and after an ineffectual attempt at accommodation, the latter determined to pass a river in their front, and attack with superior numbers the royal army. They were twice disappointed in this design by violent falls of rain, which swelled the ford. Their minds, prone to superstition, were deeply affected by these occurrences; many of them dispersed; and the remainder were soon after routed by Norfolk. Aske, and lord Darcy, with many of the chiefs, were put to death; and an amnesty was granted to the common people.

Soon after this prosperous success, Henry's joy was crowned by the birth of a son, who was baptised by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happiness without alloy: the queen died two days after. But a son had so long been ardently wished for by Henry, and was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester; sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, was raised to the dignity of earl of Hertford; sir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; sir William Paulet, lord St. John; and sir John Russel, lord Russel.

A.D. 1538. Domestic quiet combining with Henry's rapacity produced the entire destruction of the monasteries; a new visitation of them was appointed; and the abbots and monks were induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. At different times the king suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries; of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; and an hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds.

These violent measures, however, did not pass without murmurs and commotions; but Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his plans: he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding, which happened to gratify his palate. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks. At this time, six new bishoprics were erected, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which all but the first subsist at this day.

Beside the lands possessed by the monasteries, which

which were seized without reserve, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tythes annexed to them: and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by those means passed into the hands of laymen: an abuse which has left the church of England poor, and entailed misery on many of her ablest ministers.

The court of Rome saw this sacrilegious plunder with extreme indignation; and Henry was frequently reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian. Amongst those who distinguished themselves in the defence of the church, was Reginald Pole, descended from the royal family, being fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave in early youth, indications of a fine genius; and Henry, who intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, and permitted him to retire to Padua to finish his studies. The king even desired his opinion relative to the measures he had taken for abolishing the papal authority. Pole replied by writing a treatise on the *unity of the church*, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the imperial family, and to the catholic cause. Henry, though provoked beyond measure at this outrage, dissembled his resentment; and he sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult. Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation; and determined to re-

main in Italy, where he was universally beloved.

Soon after he was raised by the pope to the dignity of a cardinal; and conscious of Henry's enmity, and on principle hostile to the innovations that had taken place, engaged in every intrigue against him. Courtney, marquis of Exeter; sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny; sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal, entered into a conspiracy with the cardinal against Henry, which being detected, all of them suffered, except sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king secret intelligence of the plot. We know little concerning the justice or iniquity of the sentence pronounced against these men; we only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time prosecuted by the court forms no presumption of his guilt.

Henry was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have stopped his opposition against Rome, but some other object of animosity. Though he had gradually been changing the tenets of that theological system, in which he had been educated, he was no less dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had been unshaken. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy happened to be real presence; and all departure from this principle he held to be heretical and detestable.

Lambert, a schoolmaster of London, had presumed to draw up his objections to the corporal

presence,

presence, under ten several heads; and when cited before Cranmer and Latimer, instead of recanting, he appealed to the king.

Henry was not displeased at an opportunity of exerting his supremacy, and displaying his learning. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the lists with the schoolmaster: scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience; and Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty, and with all his bishops, peers and courtiers around him; while in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist.

The conference being opened by the bishop of Chichester, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was, of Christ's corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with some compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments drawn from scripture and the schoolmen. The audience applauded the force of his reasoning and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics; Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer; Tonstal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonstal; six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley; and the disputation, if it deserves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The

king

king then returning to the charge, asked him whether he were convinced? and he proposed as a concluding argument, this interesting question, Whether he were resolved to live or to die? Lambert replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency; the king told him that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore if that were his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwel, as vicegerent, pronounced the sentence against him.

Lambert was not daunted by the terrors of the punishment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: he was burned at a slow fire; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and with these words he expired.

A. D. 1539. Soon after this a parliament was summoned: and after a short prorogation, the bill of the *six articles*, or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, received the royal assent.

In this law the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article with regard to the

real

real presence, subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring; a degree of severity, unknown to the inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and an obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of priests was subjected to the same punishment. Their commerce with women was, on the first offence, forfeiture and imprisonment; on the second, death. The abstaining from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine and imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony. The parliament having thus resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil: by one act they gave to the king's proclamation, the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament. Henry, who seems to have thought that the word, *marriage*, was sufficient to cover the blackest enormities, being for once innocently set free, by the death of Jane Seymour, began to think of entering into a new contract. His friendship for Francis induced him to think of a French princess; and he proposed to that monarch to have a conference at Calais, on pretence of business; and that he should bring along with him the two princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, in order to select one

one for a queen. But the gallant spirit of Francis was shocked with the indelicacy of the proposal; and notwithstanding his desire to oblige the king of England, he rejected his advances.

Henry then began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and Cromwel joyfully seconded this intention, by proposing to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose sister, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holbein determined Henry to apply to her father; and after some negotiation, the marriage was at last concluded; and Anne was sent over to England. The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester, and had a sight of her. He found her one of the massive figures he admired; but utterly destitute both of beauty and grace, and very unlike the pictures and representations which he had received. He swore she was a great Flanders mare; and declared that he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and lamented his hard fate to Cromwel, as well as to lord Russel, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Anthony Denny. This last gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private persons, choose for themselves;

selves; but must receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

Henry therefore resolved out of policy, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spouse any better. The king told him that he hated her worse than ever, and even suspected her not to be a true maid; a point about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; and even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwel, on whom he conferred new honours. But these were deceitful appearances: his aversion to the queen secretly increased every day; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwel was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of low extraction, had engrossed many of the most considerable offices of the crown. The people were averse to him, as the supposed author of the violence on the monasteries. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion; the protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; while the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands arisen against the ad-

A. D. 1540.

ministration,

ministration, was not displeased to throw on his minister the load of public hatred, hoping by so easy a sacrifice, to regain the affections of his subjects.

Another more powerful motive, however, brought about an unexpected revolution in the court. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no expedient but by procuring a divorce from his present consort, to raise Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwel, made the same use of her insinuations to ruin this minister, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolsey: and when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commission from the king, to arrest Cromwel at the council-table, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death, on the most frivolous pretences, a man, whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The house of commons, likewise, passed the bill, though not without some opposition.

Cromwel endeavoured to soften the king, by the most humble supplications; but though the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him, in so moving a strain, as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all movements of pity, and refused his pardon. When brought to the place of execution, Cromwel avoided all

earnest

earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry would resent on his son, those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master, and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations, which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one; a circumstance that reflects the highest lustre on his name.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves, were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwel. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; and Henry pleaded this pre-contract as a ground of divorce. The convocation was satisfied with the reason; the parliament ratified the decision of the clergy; and Anne, who was blessed with an happy insensibility of temper, willingly hearkened to an accommodation with Henry; and when he offered to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her, she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce. The only instance of a generous pride which she betrayed, was, that she refused to return to her own country, after the affront which she had received: and she lived and died in England.

The alliance which Henry soon after contracted with the emperor, and his marriage with Catherine Howard, were regarded by the ca-

 tholics,

tholics, as favourable incidents to their party; and the king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution was commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles, which had nearly lain dormant, was now executed with rigour.

A.D. 1541. Though the spirit of the English seemed to be totally sunk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared some symptoms of discontent. An inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by sir John Nevil; but it was soon suppressed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, were executed. The rebels were supposed to be instigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole, and the king was instantly determined to make the countess of Salisbury, who already lay under sentence of death, suffer for her son's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution; and this venerable matron still maintained the spirit of that long race of monarchs, from whom she was descended. She refused to lay her head on the block, to submit to a sentence where she had received no trial. She told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could; and thus, shaking her venerable grey locks, she ran about the scaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitless blows at her neck, before he was able to give the fatal stroke. Thus perished the last of the line of Plantagenet, which with great glory, but still greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the space of three hundred years.

The spirit of religious innovation, which had seized other parts of Europe, had made its way into

into Scotland; the nobility also, from the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the church revenue; and Henry had never ceased exhorting his nephew James to imitate his conduct. He had solicited him to meet him at York; and had even obtained a promise for that purpose. But the ecclesiastics, alarmed at the consequences of the interview, united their influence with that of the queen, to delay him; and James was prevailed on to send excuses to his uncle, who had already come to York.

Henry, vexed with the disappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at sea, and incursions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more sensible, and which touched him in a point, where he always shewed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: the agreeable person and disposition of Catherine, had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: undoubted information was soon conveyed to Henry, of her anti-nuptial incontinence with some of her father's servants; which at first affected him so much, that he burst into tears; and other circumstances were disclosed, which rendered her duty as a wife also very questionable. The queen, however, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full discovery was made, she confessed that she had been criminal before marriage; and only insisted she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that

that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage; and as it appeared that she had taken a person named Derham, her old paramour, into her service, she seemed to deserve little credit in this asseveration; and the king, besides, was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

Henry, infuriate and ashamed, immediately convoked a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny. The two houses having received the queen's confession, made a consolatory address to the king. They desired leave to pass a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices; and, as there was a law in force, making it treason to speak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon, if any of them should, on the present occasion, have transgressed any part of the statute.

Having obtained a gracious answer to these requests, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treason, against the queen, and the viscountess of Rocheford, who had conducted her secret amours; and, in this bill, Colepepper and Derham were also comprehended. At the same time, they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason, against the old dutchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother, her uncle lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious course of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's usual extravagance, to expect that parents should so far forget the ties of natural affection, and the sentiments of shame and decency, as to reveal to him the most secret disorders of their family.

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He himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of this proceeding: for he pardoned the dutchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprision of treason.

However, to secure himself for the future, at well as his successors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to pass a law somewhat extraordinary. Among other clauses, it was enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason, if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this singular clause, and said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute. After this, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life; and as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Ann Boleyn to an untimely end, she died unpitied.

A. D. 1542.

The king, armed by the authority of parliament, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets; and a small volume was soon after published, called the "Institution of a Christian Man," which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy; yet it was not long before Henry ordered a new book to be composed, under the title of the "Erudition of a Christian Man;" and without asking the consent of the convocation, he published it by his own authority, and that of parliament. Though this differed from the *institution*, he was no less positive in his new creed, than he had been in his old, and

and he required the belief of the nation to veer with his own.

A monarch, so imperious, was not likely to pass over the conduct of the king of Scots, in slighting the advances which he had made him; and a manifesto soon paved the way to hostilities. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the sconrge of the Scots, to command in the war; and that nobleman, with twenty thousand men, passed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river, as far as Kelso; but, on the approach of James at the head of thirty thousand men, the English repassed the river, and retreated into their own country. The king of Scots, inflamed with a desire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into England; but his nobility, in general, opposed this resolution, and refused to proceed. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but still resolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impression on the enemy. He sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway Frith; and he himself followed them at a small distance. Indignant, however, at the refractory disposition of his nobles, he sent a message to the army, depriving lord Maxwell, their general, of his commission, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army, extremely disgusted with this alteration, was ready to disband, when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding five hundred men, under the command of Dacres and Mulgrave. A panic seized the Scots, who

who immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout, but a great many were taken prisoners, and among them, some of the principal nobility, who were all sent to London.

James, being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked, whether she had brought him a male or a female child? being told the latter, he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will go with one: many miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms, or by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age.

A. D. 1543.

Henry was no sooner informed of this victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the heiress of that kingdom. The Scottish nobles, who were his prisoners, readily assented to the proposal; and to forward this, they were permitted, on delivering hostages, to return to Scotland, where they found affairs in much confusion.

To check the new opinions which were spread-

ing in Scotland, the pope had bestowed on Beaton the primate, who acted as minister to James, the dignity of cardinal. Upon the death of his master, this man forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself and three more regents of the kingdom. During the minority of the infant princess, by virtue of this will, he excluded the pretensions of James earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, who by his grandmother, daughter to James the third, was next heir to the crown. A new revolution was favourable to Arran: the suspicion of Beaton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen from England, turned the balance in his favour; and he he was declared governor. The cardinal was committed to custody under the care of lord Seton; and a negotiation was commenced with sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen should remain in Scotland, till she should be ten years of age; that she should then be sent to England to be educated; that six Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered as hostages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges. By means of these equitable conditions, the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with such dismal calamities, seemed to be changed into perpetual concord and amity.

But the cardinal primate having prevailed on Seton to restore him to his liberty, was able, by the assistance of the church, to confound all these measures. He represented the union with England,

land, as the certain ruin of the ancient religion; and, as soon as he found a war with that kingdom unavoidable, he determined to apply to France. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen-mother; promising that a supply of money, and, if necessary, military succours, should soon be dispatched after him. Arran, the governor, seeing all these preparations against him, assembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the person of the infant queen into his custody; but, being repulsed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to entrust that precious charge to the heads of four potent families, the Grahams, Areskines, Lindseys, and Levingstones, who were neutral in the contest.

The French intrigues in Scotland induced Henry to form a close league with the emperor, who earnestly courted his alliance. That they might have a pretence for enforcing their assumed claims, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with Sultan Solyman, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Christendom had sustained from that unnatural confederacy; and upon the French king's refusal, war was declared against him by the allies.

For carrying on the war with France, parliament granted Henry a subsidy; and about the same time, he again entered into marriage with Catherine Par, widow of Nevil, lord Latimer, a woman

woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the reformed doctrines. The king's league with the emperor seemed, on the other hand, no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions.

The confederacy between Henry and Charles was productive of no considerable immediate advantage; Francis even wrested Landrecy from the emperor; and from the continent, the attention of the king of England was directed to the affairs of Scotland. The inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran, made the interests of these two noblemen incompatible; the former, disappointed in the hopes he had formed of marrying the queen-dowager, retiring to Dumbarton, had entered into a correspondence with the English court; and having collected an army of ten thousand men, threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose to him; but, by his artifices, seduced his followers; prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; and represented to the whole nation, the danger of civil wars and commotions. Lenox, observing the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of the English succours, from whose assistance alone, he expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies.

While the winter restrained Henry from military operations, he summoned a new parliament, which,

which, after declaring the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, first heirs to the crown, restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession: but such was Henry's caprice, that while he opened the way for these princesses to ascend the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed which had declared them illegitimate.

Tame as parliament was to the imperious mandates of Henry, it had always granted subsidies with reluctance. To fill his exchequer, therefore, without its intervention, he raised the value of gold and silver; coined base money; named commissioners for levying a benevolence; and, by these expedients, extorted about seventy thousand pounds. Read, alderman of London, a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was inrolled as a footsoldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty, but by paying a large composition.

These extortions enabled Henry to invade Scotland with a fleet and army. The troops were disembarked near Leith; and, after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh, the gates of which were soon beaten down; and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, and they fled to Stirling. The English marched eastward; laid waste the whole country; burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar,

Dunbar, then retreated into England; having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England, where Henry settled a pension on him, and gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage.

This incursion inflamed, without subduing the spirits of the Scots; but the reason of Henry recalling his troops so soon, was his league with the emperor, in which those two princes had personally engaged to invade France with above one hundred thousand men. To these formidable preparations, Francis could not oppose much above forty thousand men.

The emperor having taken Commercy and Ligny, invested St. Disier on the Maine; and Henry, having divided his forces, formed himself the siege of Boulogne, while that of Montreuil was carried on by the duke of Norfolk. Vervin was governor of Boulogne, and under him Philip Corse, a brave old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity; but being killed during the course of the siege, the town was immediately surrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin, who was afterwards beheaded for this dishonourable capitulation.

Meanwhile, Charles had taken St. Disier; and finding the season much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, since all his schemes for subduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a

pretence

pretence for deserting his ally, he sent a messenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to meet him with his army before Paris, as had been previously agreed on. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with honour, and that the emperor himself had first broken the concert by besieging St. Disier. This answer served Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. Soon after, Henry returned into England; and though this campaign served to the populace as matter of great triumph, all men of sense concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterprises, obtained, at a great expence, an unimportant acquisition.

The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly and with various success; nor was the war against France maintained with more vigour. Henry, to defend his possessions there, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; but the emperor would not allow them a passage through his dominions. Want of occupation and of pay, soon produced a mutiny among them; and having seized the English commissaries as a security for arrears, they retreated into their own country. A. D. 1545.

The great expence of these two wars maintained by Henry, obliged him to summon a new parliament. The commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land: the spirituality voted him six shillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraor-

extraordinary liberality of other people's property. By one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels, and hospitals. Henry was pleased with this concession, as it increased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities, that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generosity of the king.

A. D. 1546. Henry employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and sent over the earl of Hertford and lord Lisle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of small moment ensued with the French; but as no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party, both came to an accommodation. Commissioners having met at Campe, a small place between Andres and Guisnes, articles were soon agreed on, and the peace signed. The chief conditions were, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be paid. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of five hundred thousand livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war which cost him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt which was not a third of the value.

Domestic affairs now engaged the whole of Henry's

Henry's attention. He was prevailed on to permit the Litany to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and Cranmer taking advantage of Gardiner's absence on an embassy to the emperor, attempted to draw him into farther innovations; but Gardiner frustrated his aims by political address. Cranmer lost this year the most sincere and powerful friend he possessed at court, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. This nobleman seems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to deliver an eulogium on the deceased. He declared, that during the whole course of their friendship, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. "Is there any of you, my lords, who can say as much?" With these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw that confusion which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally produced.

Cranmer himself, when bereaved of this support, was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition in party and religion rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry, seeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a

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compliance, and desired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct. Every body now considered the primate as lost; and his old friends, from interested views, as well as the opposite party from animosity, began to show him marks of neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the tower. Cranmer appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came before the king, he reproved them in the severest terms; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and said, that their only intention was to set the primate's innocence in a full light by bringing him to an open trial; and Henry obliged them all to embrace him as a sign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more sincere on his part, than is usual in such forced compliances.

But though Henry's partial favour for Cranmer rendered all accusation against him vain, his declining health and increasing peevishness, induced him to punish with severity every other person who differed from him in opinion. Anne Ascue, a young lady of merit as well as beauty, and who was connected with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatizing on the real presence.

Henry,

Henry, instead of shewing indulgence to her sex and age, threw her into prison. The chancellor Wriothesely, who had succeeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court; but she maintained a laudable fidelity; and though put to the torture, her constancy on the rack baffled the barbarity of her persecutors. She was sentenced to be burned alive, with four others condemned for the same crime: such was their zeal, that they refused at the stake the pardon that was offered, on condition of recantation; and they saw with tranquillity, the executioner kindle the flames that were to consume them.

Though the secrecy and fidelity of Anne Ascue saved the queen from this peril, that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which she narrowly escaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than usually peevish and passionate. The queen attended him with the most tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured by every soothing art and compliance to allay those gusts of humour to which he was become so subject. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who

gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praised the king's anxious concern for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects, and represented, that the more elevated the person was who was chastised, the greater terror would the example strike into every one, and the more glorious would the sacrifice appear to posterity. The chancellor being consulted, was engaged by religious zeal to second these topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his bigoted counsellors, went so far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. By some means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. Sensible of the extreme danger to which she was exposed, she exerted all her prudence and address, still to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a more serene disposition than she had reason to expect. He entered on the subject which was so familiar to him; and he seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation, and remarked that such profound speculations were ill suited to the natural imbecility of her sex. Women, she said, by their first creation, were made subject to men. It belonged to the husband to chuse principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband: and as to herself, it was double her duty, being blest with a husband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to chuse principles for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every na-

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tion. "Not so! by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive instruction." She meekly replied, that she was deeply sensible how little she was entitled, to these praises; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish, when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her, and that she also purposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him on topics whence she had observed by frequent experience, that she reaped both profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king; "then are we perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness.

Her enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the tower, pursuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: she even overheard the appellations of knave, fool, and beast, which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his presence. Afterwards interposing to mitigate

gate his anger: he observed, "Poor soul! you know not how ill entitled this man is to your good offices." Thenceforth, the queen was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, never afterwards regained his favour.

But the duke of Norfolk was not so fortunate. His high rank, the reputation he had acquired in war, with his attachments to the catholic religion, combined to render him obnoxious to Henry, who foresaw danger during his son's minority, from the attempts of so potent a subject. His son Surrey had distinguished himself by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier; but when left governor of Boulogne he had been unsuccessful in some rencounters with the French; and his having declined the hand of the daughter of the earl of Hertford, had raised a suspicion that he carried his ambition to the espousing of the princess Mary.

Actuated by these motives, Henry gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey, and they were on the same day confined in the tower. Surrey was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians who were suspected to be spies, of corresponding with cardinal Pole, and of quartering on his scutcheon the arms of Edward the Confessor, a practice which had been justified by the authority of the heralds.

A. D. 1547.

These were the crimes for which a venal jury, notwithstanding his eloquent defence, condemned the earl of Surrey for high treason; and their sentence was soon after executed upon him.

The innocence of Norfolk was, if possible, still

still more apparent than that of his son; yet the house of peers, without evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. The king was now approaching fast towards his end, and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, to expedite the business. The obsequious commons obeyed his directions; and the king having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired the preceding night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought adviseable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, and who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

The king's health had long been in a declining state; but for several days, all those near him plainly saw his end approaching, without venturing to apprize him of his danger. At last sir Anthony Denny disclosed to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the event. He expressed his resignation; and desired that Cranmer might be sent for: but before the prelate arrived he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ; he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The king had made his will near a month before his demise, in which he confirmed the destination

nation of parliament, by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth. The two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son.

To delineate this prince's character, would be to mix the most discordant shades in the same picture. He was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable, at least, of a temporary attachment and friendship; yet a catalogue of his crimes would embrace many of the worst qualities incident to human nature, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, and presumption. Notwithstanding his tyranny and extortion, he seems to have possessed, to the last, some share of his people's love and affection. In fact, his exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude; and his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes.

It was not till the end of this reign, that any sallads, carrots, turnips, or other esculent roots, were produced in England. The little of these vegetables that was used, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders. Queen Catherine, when she wanted a sallad, was obliged to dispatch a messenger thither on purpose. The use of hops, and their cultivation, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or the end of the preceding.

So little was commerce understood, that it was attempted to fix the price of different articles, and to restrain the luxury of dress. A statute was even passed, but afterwards repealed,

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to determine the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal. Beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound; mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire, was let at a shilling, or about fifteen-pence of our present money; a proof of the low ebb at which agriculture was in that age.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at 10 per cent. the first legal interest known in England. Formerly all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal; and the prejudices still remained so strong, that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign.

In this reign also, some laws were made relative to beggars and vagrants. To provide for the poor is an object that powerfully recommends itself to a benevolent legislator, and appears at a first view, the most easy thing to be adjusted; but nothing, as long and painful experience has shewn, is more difficult to fix on such a basis, as may answer the purpose, without destroying industry. The convents were formerly a support to the poor; but they tended to encourage idleness and beggary; and the laws which were passed in the subsequent reign, in favour of the aged and infirm, by weakening the pride of independence, and lessening the demands of industry, have in a great measure been perverted from their original design.

CHAP. XI.

The Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary.

A. D. 1547. EDWARD, at his accession, was little more than nine years of age, and as his majority was fixed at eighteen complete, his father had appointed sixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the kingdom. Among these were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesely, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russel, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; and other officers of state, with two or three private persons. To these executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were associated twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid before them. The council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Essex; sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household; sir John Gage, comptroller; sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; sir William Petre, secretary of state; sir Richard Rich, sir John Baker, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Thomas Seymour, sir Richard Southwel, and sir Edmund Peckham. The usual caprice of Henry is visible in this nomination, by giving only the place of counsellors to persons of such high rank as the earl of Arundel, and sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

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The executors were no sooner met than it was represented government would lose its dignity for want of some head to represent the royal majesty. Though this alteration from the king's will was opposed by chancellor Wriothesely, it was nevertheless carried; and the choice fell of course on the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle.

Henry had intended before his death to make a new creation of nobility, and as in his will he had charged his executors to make good all his promises, Hertford was created duke of Somerset, mareschal, and lord treasurer; Wriothesely, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; while Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, were raised to the dignity of barons.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that factions, which had secretly prevailed even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration that usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to public business, had, of himself and from his own authority, put the great seal in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, two of whom were canonists, to execute in his absence the office of chancellor. Complaints were made of this irregularity to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depress Southampton. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for an-

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swer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment. The council summoned him to appear before them; and notwithstanding his able defence, declared that he had forfeited the great seal; that a fine should be imposed upon him; and that he should be confined to his own house, during pleasure.

The removal of Southampton, however, did not satisfy the ambition of Somerset. He procured a patent from the young king by which he entirely overturned the will of Harry VIII. and produced a total revolution in the government. He named himself protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton, reserving a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure, and of consulting with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture whatsoever.

Somerset had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformers; and he took care that all persons entrusted with the king's education, should be attached to the same principles. In his schemes for advancing the reformation, he had recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation, was averse to all violent changes. By his advice, a visitation was made of all the dioceses of England, by a mixture of clergy and laity; and the chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities

ralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches.

In these measures the protector met with no inconsiderable opposition from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late disgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age and capacity, to the highest confidence of his party; he represented the perils of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. For this freedom he was sent to the Fleet prison and treated with some severity.

In Scotland the partisans of the ancient and the reformed religion had daily become more violent; and the cardinal primate Beaton soon brough matters to a decision. One Wishart, a gentleman by birth, and celebrated for the purity of his morals, and his extensive learning, had employed himself with great success in preaching against the ancient superstitions. By the punishment of so distinguished an innovator, the cardinal hoped to strike terror into all others. He was arrested, and, after a short trial, condemned to the flames for heresy. Wishart suffered with the usual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he should in the very same place lie as low as now he was exalted aloft in opposition to true piety and religion.

This prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel exe-

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cution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal; and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they found means to enter his palace, which had been strongly fortified, and having excluded his servants and dependants, they shut the gates. The cardinal had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle, and had barricadoed the door of his chamber; but finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promise of life, he opened the door. Two of the assassins rushed upon him with drawn swords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more considerate in villany, stopped their career, and bade them reflect that this work was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword toward Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these lands; it is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee: we are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest, that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death; but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having spoken these words, without giving Beaton time to reply, he thrust him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. The assassins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of one hundred

hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry, who was then alive. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of disturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promised to take them under his protection.

To fulfil this promise, and to execute the project which the late king had recommended with his dying breath, the protector invaded Scotland with an army of eighteen thousand men. He passed the borders at Berwick, and advanced towards Edinburgh; where, about four miles from that city, on the banks of the Eske, he beheld the Scots, amounting to double the number of his own army, advantageously posted. Having reconnoitered their camp, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of success; he wrote therefore to Arran, and offered to evacuate the kingdom, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she reached the age of chusing a husband for herself. This demand was rejected by the Scots, who, inflamed by their priests, quitted their camp, passed the river, and advanced into the plain, in hopes of cutting off the retreat of the English.

Somerset, pleased to behold this movement of the Scottish army, immediately formed his own in order of battle. The Scots were broken on every side, and pursued to Edinburgh, with the loss of about ten thousand slain, and fifteen hundred prisoners; while on the side of the English, not more than two hundred fell. This action was called

called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood.

The queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were scarcely able to collect such a body of forces as could check the incursions of small parties of the English. About the same time the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the west marches, at the head of five thousand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they spread devastation over all the neighbouring counties. Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might have impossd what terms he pleased on the Scottish nation; but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard some counsellors, and even his own brother the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Arran now desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwick for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negotiate. But no commissioners from Scotland ever appeared; and it was evident that the overture of the Scots was an artifice to gain time, till succours should arrive from France.

A. D. 1548.

The protector on his arrival in England summoned a parliament, in which all laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III. all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; and all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles. By these and other repeals of little less consequence, some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people.

Heresy,

Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no precise standard by which that crime could be defined or determined: a circumstance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public security, according to the disposition of the judges.

The convocation met at the same time with the parliament; and the lower house applied to have the liberty of sitting with the commons. This demand was however rejected; and the protector, though he had assented to the repeal of that law, which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of statutes, did not hesitate to issue proclamations in some particulars which were considered as momentous. An order of council was promulgated for the removal of images from the churches; and, as private masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion-service, which was accordingly produced, and sanctioned by authority.

The greater the progress that was made towards a reformation in England, the farther did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a nation, which had so far departed from ancient principles. Somerset, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be strongly garrisoned and fortified by lord Grey; he also erected some fortifications at Lauder: and he hoped that these two places, together with Broughty, which were in the hands of the English, would serve

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as a curb on Scotland, and give him access into the heart of the country.

Arran being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the succours expected from France for the recovery of these places; and these at last arrived in the Frith to the number of six thousand men, commanded by Dessé. The Scots were at that time so sunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without resistance; but on the appearance of the French succours, they assumed more courage; and having joined Dessé with a considerable reinforcement, they laid siege to Haddington. After some vain attempts to take the place by a regular siege, the blockade was formed; but at last they were compelled to retire from before the place.

The hostile attempts which the late king and the protector had made against Scotland, had inspired the nation with the utmost aversion to an union. The queen-dowager finding these sentiments prevail, had proposed that the young queen should be sent to France; the earl of Arran was persuaded to second her intentions by the title of duke of Chatelrault, and a pension of twelve thousand livres; and Mary embarking on board some French vessels, arrived at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and betrothed to the dauphin.

After the relief of Haddington, Shrewsbury, the English commander, returned; and the mortification which Somerset felt from the affairs of Scotland, was increased by the intrigues of his own family. His brother, lord Seymour, a man of insatiable ambition, by his flattery and

address,

address, had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him so immediately upon the demise of the late king, that had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the dutchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger brother's wife should have the precedency, employed all her credit with her husband, first to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers.

The first attempt of the admiral to weaken the authority of Somerset, was in procuring a letter from the young king, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; but finding himself firmly opposed in this project by parliament, he dropped the design, and was in appearance reconciled to his brother.

He soon, however, resumed his turbulent machinations. His spouse the queen-mother had died in child-bed; yet far from regarding this event as a check to his aspiring views, he made his addresses to the lady Elizabeth; but as Henry had excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession, if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could not hope to obtain, he is supposed to have aimed at effecting his purpose by the most criminal means. He brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and it was supposed, that he could, on occasion, muster an army of ten thousand men, composed of his servants, tenants, and retainers. He had farther provided arms for their use; and having engaged sir John Sharington,

Sharington, a corrupt man, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerset was well apprised of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured, by the most friendly expedients, by intreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him desist from his dangerous counsels; but finding all endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more severe remedies. The earl of Warwick, who had formed the malicious design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his own fortune on the ruins of both, encouraged this design; and the admiral was soon after committed to the Tower.

Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy-counsellors being sent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to desist from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation; and, renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles; and the whole to be laid before the privy-council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestably proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the tower in order more fully to examine the prisoner. Undaunted by the appearance,

appearance, he boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witnesses; desired that the charge might be left with him, in order to be considered; and refused to answer any interrogatories by which he might accuse himself.

It is apparent that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when such demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and scarcely capable of any proof; many of them if true, susceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that though on the whole Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed to him.

But the administration had at that time an easy instrument of vengeance in the parliament; and a session being held, Seymour was proceeded against by bill of attainder. The bill readily passed; the sentence was soon after executed, and the prisoner was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset himself, who met with much obloquy on this account. A. D. 1549.

During this sessions, not only the translation of the liturgy and the scriptures into the vulgar tongue was encouraged, but an act passed, permitting the marriage of priests, who had hitherto been enjoined celibacy.

The protestant divines having renounced opinions deemed certain during many ages, regarded in their turn the new system, as infallible,

ble, and they were ready to consign to the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. There was a woman accused of heretical pravity, named Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious that the commissioners could make no impression upon her; and she was condemned to the flames. But the young king, though in such tender years, had more sense than all his counsellors and preceptors; and he long refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to compliance; and Edward, overcome by importunity, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; and told Cranmer, that if any wrong were done, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obstinate against all his arguments, at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, named Van Paris, accused of the heresy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment; and suffered with so much satisfaction that he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him.

Though scarcely any institution can be less favourable to mankind, than that of monks and friars, yet the convents, from the alms they distributed, were a sure resource to the idle and the indigent, and by these the suppression of them was regretted. The grievances of the multitude were also at this time heightened by various other causes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England, these

these arts had made greater progress, than the knowledge of agriculture. A great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home; pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage; whole estates were laid waste by inclosures; and a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom. This grievance was now of an old date; and sir Thomas More, alluding to it, observes in his Utopia, that a sheep had become in England, a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

The general increase also of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not so easily change their habitation, still remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained, that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry; which, having been long habituated to indolence, they were, in fact, very reluctant to employ.

These murmurs were suceeded by acts of open violence; and numerouscinsurrections took place throughout England: that in Norfolk was the most formidable, consisting of twenty thousand men, headed by one Kent, a tanner. The protector affecting popularity, cared not to appear in person against the rebels; and therefore sent the earl of Warwick at the head of six thousand men, levied for the wars against Scotland,

land, by which means he afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwick having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit; and Ket himself was hanged at Norwich.

But though insurrections were thus quickly subdued in England, they were attended with serious consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The Scots compelled the English to evacuate Haddington; and the king of France seized the opportunity of recovering, with the exception of Boulogne, all the conquests which Henry had made on the continent.

Somerset, embarrassed on every side, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; but he found he no longer possessed his wonted influence in the council. Warwick had joined himself to the malcontent counsellor; and the conduct of the protector was severely canvassed. The attainder of his brother, which bore an odious aspect; the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom; the great estate which he had suddenly acquired; and the magnificent palace which he was building in the Strand, were all urged against him. His enemies, lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-house, and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the present measures, and

and requiring their assistance; they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any which they might receive from the duke of Somerset; and they laid the same injunctions on the lieutenant of the tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, sir Thomas Cheney, sir John Gage, sir Ralph Sadler, and chief justice Montague, joined the malcontent counsellors. Secretary Peter, whom he had sent to treat with the council, rather chose to remain with them. The common council of the city, likewise, being applied to, declared with one voice, their approbation of the new measures, and their resolution of supporting them.

As soon as the protector heard of this defection, he removed the king to Hampton-court; but finding no person of rank, except Cranmer, adhered to him, he lost all hopes of success, and applied to his enemies for forgiveness. He capitulated only, for gentle usage, which was promised him. He was, however, sent to the tower, with some of his partisans. Articles of indictment were preferred against him; and Warwick, who had got possession of the young king's person, prepared to acquire an ascendancy over his mind, by acquiescing in all his wishes, in regard to the reformation.

A session of parliament was held, and as it was the usual maxim of that assembly, to acquiesce with every administration, the new council, which Warwick had formed, dreaded no opposition from that quarter. Somerset had been prevailed on, to confess on his knees, before the council, all

all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these misdemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention. He even subscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no farther: his fine was remitted by the king; and Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset.

A. D. 1550. When Warwick, and the council of regency, began to exercise their power, they found themselves embarrassed by the wars with France and Scotland; and therefore, they agreed to listen to terms of accommodation. It was stipulated, that the king of France should pay four hundred thousand crowns, for the restitution of Boulogne; but that all former demands should be cancelled. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty; and the English agreed to restore Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth. No sooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a close alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a proposal, so suitable both to his interests and his inclinations. An agreement, some

time

time after, was formed, for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France, and all the articles were fully settled; but this project never took effect.

Notwithstanding the intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent persecutor of the protestants, the council was steady in every other respect, in promoting the reformation. Of the prelates, who were attached to the ancient communion, not only Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, but Day, of Chichester, Heathe, of Worcester, and Voisey, of Exeter, were deprived of their sees, on pretence of disobedience. But no arguments could prevail on the princess Mary to relinquish the ancient faith; and Edward, who was a zealous protestant, bewailed his hard fate, in seeing his sister so obstinate in adhering to a belief he disclaimed; but, nevertheless, was prevailed on to allow her liberty of conscience. A. D. 1551.

The theological zeal of the council, however, went not so far as to make them neglect the public interests. The trade of England had anciently been carried on wholly by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hans-towns; but the patent which exempted these latter from the duties paid by other aliens, was annulled; and the English, who, by their situation, had advantages above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities, were encouraged to enter into commerce.

A treaty was also made with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden, by which it was stipulated, that if he sent bullion into England, he might import English commodities without paying custom: the bullion sent over from Sweden was coined

coined into good specie, and much of that which had been adulterated in the late reign was recalled.

But all these schemes for promoting industry were likely to prove abortive, by the ambition of Warwick. The last earl of Northumberland had died without issue; and as sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted in the late reign, Warwick procured a grant of the estate, with the title of duke of Northumberland.

The popularity which Somerset still enjoyed, made him appear a formidable rival to Northumberland, who was not deterred by the alliance of the two families from projecting his ruin. He secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that unhappy nobleman; who, provoked by ill usage, often broke out into menacing expressions, which his treacherous confidents carried to his enemy. They even revealed the schemes which they themselves had first suggested; and Northumberland, thinking that the proper season was now come, began to act in an open manner against him.

In one night, the duke of Somerset, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested, and committed to custody. Next day, the dutchess of Somerset, with some others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of various treasonable and sanguinary designs; and he was accordingly brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, created high steward. Twenty-seven peers composed the jury, among whom were Northumberland,

Pembroke,

Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as judges, in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerset was accused of high treason, on account of the projected insurrections, and of felony, in laying a design to murder some privy-counsellors. A. D. 1552.

The proof seems to have been lame, in regard to the treasonable part of the charge; but the prisoner himself confessed, that he had expressed his intention of murdering Northumberland, and he was accordingly condemned to death. Care had been taken to prepossess the young king against him; and, lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends. The prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness, that they entertained to the last moment the fond hopes of his pardon. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and sarcastically displayed to him these symbols of his crime.

The day after the execution of Somerset, a session of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the establishment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorised; and penalties were enacted against all those who absented themselves from public worship. The use of the mass was also prohibited.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, less eminent for his dignity, than for his personal merit, had opposed

posed by his vote and authority, all innovations of religion; but, as soon as they were enacted, from a sense of duty, he had always submitted, and had conformed to every theological system which had been established. The general regard paid to his character, had protected him from any severe treatment, during the administration of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the ascendant, he was thrown into prison; and, as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring to himself a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved to deprive Tonstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the house of peers, against the prelate, and it passed with little opposition; but, when it was sent down to the commons, they required that witnesses should be examined, that Tonstal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers. These demands being refused, they rejected the bill.

As this equity, so unusual, was ascribed by Northumberland to the prevalence of Somerset's faction, he resolved to dissolve the parliament, and to summon a new one, that would be more devoted to his will, and this expedient answered his expectation. As Tonstal had, in the interval, been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was, by act of parliament, divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them; and the regalities of the

see,

see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland.

The commons showed the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most sincere of any, the most cordial, and the most difficult to be obtained: they granted a supply of two subsidies and two fifteenths. But though the young king shewed a disposition to frugality, such had been the rapacity of his courtiers, that the crown owed above three hundred thousand pounds; and, as Edward's health was declining fast, the emptiness of the exchequer was an obstacle to the ambitious projects which Northumberland cherished.

That nobleman represented to the prince, that his two sisters had been declared illegitimate; and, though restored by Henry's will, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard. That the queen of Scots stood excluded by will; and that the certain consequence of her succession, or that of his sister Mary, was the abolition of the protestant religion; that the succession next devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk; that the next heir of the marchioness was lady Jane Grey, a lady of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion, and every way worthy of a crown; and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince; and above all, his

his zealous attachment to the protestant religion, made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigotted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. And, though he bore a tender affection to the princess Elizabeth, who was liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him, that he could not exclude the one sister on account of illegitimacy, without the other.

Northnmberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk, by a second marriage, having died this season, of the sweating sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour, he persuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the dutchess, to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guilford Dudley; and, in order to fortify himself by farther alliances, he negotiated a marriage between the lady Catherine Grey, second daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to lord Hastings, eldest son to the earl of Huntingdon. These marriages were solemnized with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation, at seeing such public demonstrations of joy, during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

Northumberland, finding the king was hastening to a dissolution, prevailed on him to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common

mon pleas, sir John Baker, and sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, were accordingly summoned to the council, where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated; and the more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown, by Henry the eighth, had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to change the order of succession. At last, Montague proposed an expedient: he desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should be immediately after granted them for any offence they might have incurred.

After all, when the patent was brought to the chancellor, to affix the great seal, he required, that all the privy counsellors should set their hands to it; and the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone hesitated during some time, but at last yielded to the earnest and pathetic intreaties of the king.

After this settlement was made, with so many inauspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined every day; and to make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council, and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman,

who

who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all his bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree; and he expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign.

The English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He possessed mildness of disposition, with application to study and business, and a capacity to learn and judge, with an attachment to equity and justice.

During the life of Edward, the princess Mary had been considered as his lawful successor: and though the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred universally entertained against the Dudleys, who, it was foreseen, would reign under the name of Jane, more than counterbalanced, even with that party, the attachment to religion.

Northumberland, sensible of the opposition that he must expect, had concealed the destination made by the king; and, in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had artfully engaged the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, desiring their company. Edward, however, expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept the king's death still secret; and Mary had already reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence, both of her brother's death, and of the conspiracy formed against

against her; on which, she immediately made haste to retire to Framlingham in Suffolk, purposing to embark and escape to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to defend her right of succession. She wrote letters, however, to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county in England; commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person; and, dispatching a message to the council, required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London.

Northumberland, finding further dissimulation fruitless, approached lady Jane, who was in a great measure ignorant of these transactions, with the respect due to a sovereign. This amiable, but unfortunate lady, with a heart full of passion for literature and tenderness towards her husband, had no room for ambition. She even refused to accept the crown; and at last yielded rather to the intreaties than the reasons of her father and her husband.

While Jane was proclaimed in London, the people of Suffolk paid their attendance on Mary. On her assurance that she never meant to change the laws of Edward, they enlisted with zeal in her cause. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcements; and a fleet which had been sent by Northumberland to lie off the coast of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a storm, was engaged to declare in her favour.

Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, saw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not which way to turn. He had levied forces which were assembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counsellors,

counsellors, he was resolved to keep near the person of the lady Jane, and send Suffolk to command the army. But the counsellors who wished to remove him, working on the filial tenderness of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be exposed; and represented that Northumberland was more proper to command in that enterprise. The duke himself, who knew the slender capacity of Suffolk, at last began to be of the same opinion, and the counsellors parted with him with the highest protestations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy. As he went along, however, he remarked the disaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," said he to lord Gray, come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries God speed you!"

The duke had no sooner reached St. Edmund's-bury, than he found his army, which did not exceed six thousand men, too weak to encounter the queen's. He also received intelligence that the council had proclaimed Mary with the approbation of the capital; that even Suffolk had surrendered up the tower; and that Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, had returned to a private life with more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her. Meanwhile, Mary approaching towards London, was every where received with expressions of loyalty and attachment; and was soon joined by her sister Elizabeth, at the head of a thousand horse.

The duke of Northumberland, deserted by his followers, was immediately arrested, and abjectly begged his life. At the same time were committed

committed the earl of Warwick, his eldest son; lord Ambrose and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons; sir Andrew Dudley, his brother; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, sir Thomas Palmer, and sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Grey, and lord Guilford Dudley; but anxious to commence her reign with the appearance of clemency, she did not at once proceed against them. Suffolk owed his liberty to the contempt of his incapacity; but Northumberland was too formidable to be pardoned; he pleaded guilty, and was executed. Sentence was also pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but the execution of it was deferred.

The joy arising from the succession of the lawful heir, was soon damped by the zeal of Mary for the ancient religion. Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal, were reinstated in their sees; and Cranmer, whose merits to the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable, being tried, on pretence of having concurred with lady Jane, was pronounced guilty of high treason. The execution of the sentence, however, did not follow, and he was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

Several English protestants, foreseeing the storm, took shelter in foreign parts; and the obsequiousnesss of the parliament that was summoned sufficiently justified their caution. In opening that assembly, the court shewed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houses a mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parlia-

 ment.

ment. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; though events soon proved the contrary.

Some of the first bills passed by the parliament were of a popular nature; but the principles of the new sovereign soon began to be developed. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one sweeping vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was more reasonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid, without farther authority.

But obsequious as the two houses appeared, they were determined not to submit tamely to the queen's pleasure in the choice of a husband. Three matches had been named for her. The first was with the earl of Devonshire, whose person and address had visibly gained on the queen's affections; but that nobleman neglected this advantage, to attach himself to the lady Elizabeth: the second was cardinal Pole, who had never taken priests orders, but it was insinuated to Mary that he had contracted habits of study and retirement, unsuitable to the bustle of a court: the third was with Philip, son of the emperor Charles V. and this alliance was not only strenuously recommended by Gardiner, who had become prime minister, but was readily embraced by Mary herself.

The commons were, however, far from regard-

ing this measure in the same favourable light, and the remonstrance they presented against it produced their dissolution. After the parliament was dismissed, the new laws respecting religion were openly put in execution. The mass was every where re-established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office.

This sudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent: but the Spanish match was a point of more general concern. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourably as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

A. D. 1554.

The apprehension, however, that England would lose her independence by this alliance, was very general; and some persons, more turbulent than the rest, formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat purposed to raise Kent; sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to

 attempt

attempt raising the midland counties. Carew's rebellion was soon suppressed, and he was obliged to fly into France. Suffolk was still more unfortunate: he was taken, and carried prisoner to London. Wiat was at first more successful in his attempt; and having published a declaration at Maidstone in Kent, against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk, with sir Henry Jernegan, was sent against him, at the head of the guards and some other troops, reinforced with five hundred Londoners commanded by Bret. The Londoners, however, soon deserted to Wiat, and declared that they would not contribute to enslave their native country; and Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took shelter in the city.

After this proof of the dispositions of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants, Wiat was encouraged to proceed: he led his forces to Southwark, but finding that the bridge was secured against him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with four thousand men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partisans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had, however, imprudently wasted so much time, that the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost; and his followers falling off, he was taken prisoner and executed, with about four hundred of his adherents.

The princess Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her sister; but no crime could be imputed to her, that could

serve as a pretence to proceed against her. She was, however, confined at Woodstock; and watched with the utmost jealousy.

This rebellion proved fatal to the lady Jane Grey and her husband. She was warned to prepare for death; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered nowise unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send divines, who harassed her with perpetual disputation; but lady Jane had presence of mind, in those melancholy circumstances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in use, but also to write a letter to her sister in the Greek language; in which, she exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like steady perseverance. On the day of her execution, her husband lord Guilford desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent, and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required: their separation, she said, would be only for a moment; and they would soon rejoin each other in a scene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have access to them, or disturb their eternal felicity. With unshaken fortitude, she saw her husband led to execution, and his headless body conveyed back in a cart; and being brought herself on the scaffold, she made a most pathetic speech, and then with a steady and serene countenance submitted to the stroke of death.

The duke of Suffolk was condemned, and executed soon after; the tower and prisons were filled with nobility and gentry on the slightest suspicion. The queen, finding that she was universally hated, determined to prevent resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize all the arms they could find

A new parliament had been summoned; and to render it compliant, the emperor is reported to have distributed above four hundred thousand crowns in bribes and pensions among the members; yet when Gardiner opened the session, by observing, that in order to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen, by law, with a power of disposing of the crown, and of appointing her successor; the parliament, who knew her extreme hatred to Elizabeth, and the probability of her making a will in her husband's favour, and thereby rendering England for ever a province to the Spanish monarchy, to cut off Philip's hopes, passed a law, "that her majesty, as their only queen, should solely, and as a sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy of the realm, or by any other means."

The queen, finding the parliament less subservient than she wished, finished the session by dissolving them; and bent all her thoughts on receiving Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected. She waited with the utmost impatience

ence for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle was to her a source of anxiety and discontent. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and she could not conceal her vexation, that though she brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with such neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a single letter. Her health, and even her understanding, were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension lest her person, impaired by time, and blasted by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the moment of their first interview.

At last, news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton. A few days after they were married at Westminster, and having made a pompous entry into London, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; and so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible. But this circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness.

Mary soon found that Philip's ruling passion was ambition; and in order to gratify it, she summoned a new parliament, in hopes to find it

more compliant than the former: yet such was the hatred to the Spaniards, that the queen failed in her endeavour to get her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown. That assembly, however, was more obsequious in matters of religion: it had reversed the attainder of cardinal Pole, who, on his arrival in England, being introduced as legate to the king and queen, invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see. This message was taken in good part; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; and praying their majesties to intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was easily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gladly gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church.

Sensible of the prejudices of the nation against him, Philip had aimed at acquiring popularity by an appearance of generosity. He had obtained the release of several persons of rank who had been confined on suspicion; but his setting at liberty the princess Elizabeth was ascribed to a refined policy, which made him foresee that if she was put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France.

Anxious to produce a pledge to Philip of her love, she fondly gave credit to every appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced, she fancied that she felt the embryo stir in her womb. Great rejoicings were made

on

on this occasion; but the nation still remained somewhat incredulous; though the belief of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care, and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster and dissolved them.

An incident happened this session which must not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, dissatisfied with the measures of the majority, made a secession, in order to show their disapprobation. For this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the king's bench after the dissolution of parliament: six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: the rest traversed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue.

The success of Gardiner in governing the parliament, had raised his character above that of Pole, who was rather regarded as a good man than a great minister. The former had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement; the latter had thought that no consideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with the catholic doctrines. Yet the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets, which he highly blamed; while the unfeeling hypocrisy of Gardiner inclined him to support, by persecution, that religion which in reality he regarded with the utmost indifference.

The arguments and views of Gardiner were more

more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip; and it was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion, which soon filled England with scenes of horror, that must ever render the catholic religion the object of deserved detestation.

Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning, was the first victim to Gardiner's intolerance. This man besides the care of his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to recant: he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his serenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he was brought to the stake; but Gardiner told him, that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife; thus adding insult to cruelty.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony by his death to that doctrine which he had preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation: but he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity, and with inflexible constancy: the wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body;

body; the faggots were green, and did not kindle easily; all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked; but he was heard to pray, and to exhort the people, till his tongue, swoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. Several others of less note suffered the same horrible death, and did equal credit to their principles, and the constancy of their resolution. The imputed crime for which almost all the protestants were condemned, was their refusal to acknowledge the popish doctrine of the real presence.

Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments he witnessed. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle, till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocese. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we shall this day kindle such a torch

torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished*."

The tender sex itself, as they have commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage, in supporting its profession against all the fury of the persecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances, which, even at that time, excited astonishment, by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the stake, was thrown into such agitation by the torture, that her belly burst, and she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it; but a magistrate who stood by, ordered it to be thrown back, being determined, he said, that nothing should survive which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent.

These barbarities, under the mask of a religion that abjures them, excited horror, and rendered the Spanish government still more odious. It was in vain Philip ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon on toleration: this feeble artifice was soon forgotten in an attempt to introduce the inquisition into England; and the court soon after devised a more expeditious and summary method of supporting orthodoxy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition, declaring, "that whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently

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* For more particulars of the venerable Latimer, see the British Nepos.

burn them, on shewing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any farther delay be executed by martial law."

In the space of three years, it is computed, that two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children.

The burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Roman communion; and little consideration was requisite to persuade the pope to receive the strayed flock. Yet Paul IV. insisted that the possessions of the church should be restored to the uttermost farthing. Though his demand had little influence on the English in general, it operated powerfully on the queen, who was determined, in order to ease her conscience, to restore all the church lands which were still in the possession of the crown; and the more to display her zeal, she erected anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstanding the low condition of the exchequer. When this measure was debated in council, some members objected, that if such a considerable part of the revenue were dismembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England.

Persecution had now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament sum-

moned to meet at Westminster. A bill was passed, restoring to the church the tenths and first-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herself, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a subsidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refused by the commons; and many members observed, that while the crown was thus despoiling itself of its revenue, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to dissolve them.

This spirit of opposition in the parliament, was the more vexatious to Mary, as Philip, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority limited in England, had gone over to Flanders. His indifference, added to the disappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen, by daily enforcing the persecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects, by whom she knew herself to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her so little of his company. The less return her love met with, the more it increased; and she passed most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom deigned to return her any answer. The chief part of government to which she attended was the extorting money from her people, in order to satisfy his

his demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a scanty supply, she had recourse to expedients the most violent and irregular. By her own authority, she levied loans or extorted contributions with unexampled rapacity; and this at a time when she was at peace with all the world, and had no other occasion for money, but to supply the demands of a husband who detested her.

By the voluntary resignation of Charles V. Philip was now become master of the wealth of the new world, and of the richest dominions in Europe; but finding himself threatened with a war with France, he was desirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and Mary, though extremely averse to the measure, was incapable of resisting her husband's importunity. But she had little weight with her council, and still less with her people; and a new act of barbarity tended to increase the unpopularity of her government. A. D. 1556.

Cranmer had long been detained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were sent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony will all the joy and exultation of a savage. The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned,

ned, sought the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, by flattery, insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; and by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends, whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by the fond love of life, and terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent him orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church, before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, however, surprised the audience by acontrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprised of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever hardships they should impose upon him: that a superior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: that there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented, the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and

which

which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal, with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven; and that, as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults of the catholics; and bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand; and, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed, several times exclaiming, "this hand has offended." Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and, by the force of hope and resolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is even pretended, that after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. Cranmer was adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and his learning and capacity reflected a lustre on the age in which he lived.

Pole, who was now installed in the see of Canterbury,

terbury, neither countenanced these furious measures, nor approved the intention of the queen to engage England in the war which was kindled between France and Spain. But Philip, to inforce his demand, came to London, and declared to Mary, if he was not gratified in this request, he would never more set foot in England.
A. D. 1557. Yet it was not without employing both menaces and artifices that Mary prevailed, and that the council consented to a declaration of war.

The revenue of England at that time little exceeded three hundred thousand pounds, and to support the war, the queen had recourse to the most arbitrary methods. She obliged the city of London to supply her with sixty thousand pounds on her husband's entry; she levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she issued anew many privy seals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual by reason of the dearness of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without making any compensation to the owners. By all these infamous expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and lest they should be known, they either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them.

After this junction of the English, the king of

of Spain's army amounted to above sixty thousand men; and the duke of Savoy, who commanded it, suddenly invested St. Quintin. The constable Montmorency, who had advanced imprudently to its relief, was totally defeated and made prisoner by the besiegers. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation; but the cautious delays of Philip allowed the French to recover their spirits; and he reaped few fruits, from this decisive victory.

A. D. 1558.

The English had soon sufficient reason to repent of having entered into the war. The town of Calais, the only possession they retained in France, being unexpectedly invested and attacked by the duke of Guise, after a siege of eight days, was obliged to capitulate; though it had held out against Edward III. for eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Cressy.

But it was not only the loss of Calais that embarrassed the English. The Scots, excited by the French, began to infest the borders. The enterprises of the Scots proceeded little farther; yet in order to connect Scotland more closely with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was sent by the Scottish parliament to assist at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

This close alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repose and security of England; and it was foreseen, that though the factions and disorders which might naturally

naturally be expected in the Scottish government, during the absence of the sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to recruit her exhausted exchequer. Sensible of the emergency, the commons, without making any reflections on the past exactions and extortions, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods. The parliament also passed an act confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or should be made during the seven ensuing years.

During this whole reign, the nation were under great apprehensions with regard not only to the succession, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. It required all the prudence of that princess to elude the effects of the violent jealousy, which the queen entertained against her. When questioned respecting the real presence, the net for catching the protestants, she replied:

Christ was the word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

The money granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, for the assistance of Spain; and the principal armies approaching each other on the frontiers of Picardy, each headed by their respective king, a general expectation was excited of some important event. But neither Philip

nor

nor Henry were willing to stake their pretensions on the success of a battle. Nogotiations for peace were therefore entered into, and the armies retired into winter quarters, till the princes could come to some agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; and Philip, that of Calais and its territory to England; but in the midst of these negotiations, news arrived of Mary's death. The loss of Calais, and the absence of her husband, had pressed on her declining health, and had brought on a lingering fever of which she died, after a short and inglorious reign of five years and a few months. A. D. 1558.

Few qualities, either estimable or amiable, attach to the character of Mary; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, and revenge, the fruits of a bad temper, and a narrow understanding, are with justice ascribed to her; and this odious catalogue of vices is only broken by the single virtue of sincerity.

Under her reign, the naval power of England, which is now its glory and its defence, was so inconsiderable, that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the repairing and victualling of the fleet, it was computed that ten thousand pounds a year, afterwards, would answer all necessary charges.

A notion of the little progress made in refinement about this time, may be formed from the subsequent circumstances. Erasmus, describing the slovenly habits of the people of England, says

says, "the floors are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is nasty." And according to Hollingshed there was scarely a chimney to the houses, even in the most considerable towns. The fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out of the roof, or door, or windows. The houses were nothing but watling plaistered over with clay; the people slept on straw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow, while the furniture and utensils were generally of wood.

CHAP. XII.

The Reign of Elizabeth.

THE prudence which Elizabeth had displayed during the reign of her sanguinary and bigotted sister, rendered her accession the subject of general joy and congratulation; and the magnanimity she shewed in burying past offences in oblivion confirmed the favourable opinion which her subjects had entertained of her. When the bishops, however, came to make obeisance to her, she turned away from Bonner as from a man polluted with blood; and this sufficiently declared the religious principles which she meant to adopt.

A. D. 1558.

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In notifying her accession to Philip, she expressed herself gratefully for the protection he had afforded her; and that monarch, availing himself of the incident, returned her proposals of marriage, which she prudently waved, without absolutely refusing him.

By education and conviction she was a protestant, and it was her first object to restore that religion; but, by the advice of sir William Cecil, she proceeded with cautious steps. She recalled those who had fled, she set at liberty those who had been confined on account of religion, and ordered the service to be read in English. By her affability and address, she accomplished these changes without any commotion; and before she proceeded farther, she called a parliament to sanction and confirm her designs.

The election of members was entirely in favour of the protestant interest, and both houses met in the best disposition to gratify the queen. By an unanimous vote, they declared, "that Elizabeth was and ought to be, as well by the word of God as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood royal, according to the order of succession settled in the 35th of Henry VIII." This act of recognition, as it embraced every object, put an end to every dispute, and the queen seems to have had no wish to move the subject of the validity of her mother's marriage.

The first bill brought into parliament was for suppressing the newly erected monasteries, and for restoring the tenths and first fruits to the queen; and this point gained, a bill was next passed for annexing the supremacy to the crown, under

under several pains and penalties to recusants and gainsayers.

After this, a solemn and public disputation was held between the champions of the old and the reformed religions, in which, it may easily be supposed, the adherents of the latter were triumphant. Emboldened by this victory, the protestants ventured on bringing a bill into parliament for abolishing mass, and for re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Thus, in one session, without violence or tumult, the whole system of religion was changed, and placed on a permanent foundation.

The commons also voted the queen a liberal subsidy; but when, in a respectful address, they invited her to fix on a husband, she declined the proposal, alleging that England was her husband, and its natives her children; adding, that she had no ambition to have any other monumental inscription, than, "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

After the prorogation of parliament, the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy, when all the bishops, except Landaff, refused compliance; but of the inferior clergy only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings to their religious principles.

Meanwhile, negotiations for peace were carried on between the ministers of France, Spain, and England. As long as Philip entertained hopes of espousing the queen, he employed his utmost efforts to procure her the restitution of Calais; but as she was rather inclined to come to an accommodation with France, which included

cluded Scotland, Calais was abandoned on certain future conditions, and these probably were never expected to be complied with.

But, though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared serious grounds for misunderstanding. The king of France ordered his son and daughter-in-law, the young queen of Scots, to quarter the arms of England; and, as she was the next heir to that throne, acknowledged by the see of Rome, this gave Elizabeth just reason to suppose that it was intended to dispute her legitimacy and her title, whenever a favourable opportunity occurred. Soon after, Francis II. succeeded to the crown of France, and still continuing to assume without reserve the title of king of England, Elizabeth began to consider him and his queen Mary of Scotland as her mortal enemies, and the jealousy thus excited did not die but with the life of Mary.

Elizabeth, however, finding the affairs of Scotland in great confusion, was determined to take present revenge, and to provide against future danger. Though popery was still the religion of the state in that country, the principles of the reformation had made considerable progress, and the arm of power had been stretched to suppress them, which, in fact, had only given them new strength.

About this critical period, when the queen regent had been proceeding with rigour against the protestants, John Knox arrived from Geneva; where in his commerce with Calvin, he had imbibed the highest fanaticism of his sect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own character. This man, who soon became the

apostle of Scotland, having united the former friends of reformation, and made many new converts by his inflammatory harangues, incited them to violence against the adherents of the church of Rome. The fury of a religious mob soon spread desolation through that kingdom, and the fairest monuments of religious zeal fell beneath the despoiling hand of fanaticism.

For a time the queen regent was obliged to retire from the storm, and, at last, was glad to come to terms with the reformers, who had assumed the title of the congregation; but as force, not inclination, had dictated her compliance, she only waited till she received reinforcements from France, to violate her engagements.

Conscious that their safety depended on the decision of their measures, the congregation passed an act depriving the queen dowager of the regency; and, to enable them to make effectual resistance, they dispatched two of their leaders to solicit the assistance of Elizabeth.

The opportunity was too favourable to be neglected by that politic princess. She dispatched a small fleet, and sent an army of eight thousand men to support the congregation. The court of France, alarmed at her interposition, now offered the immediate restitution of Calais, on condition of her withdrawing her forces and countenance from the insurgents; but she declared that she would never put an inconsiderable fishing town in competition with the safety of her dominions. Accordingly she concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the congregation, and receiving six hostages from the Scots for the performance of articles, immediately gave order

orders to her troops to commence their operations.

The appearance of the English soon turned the tide of the war; and a treaty was speedily concluded, in which it was stipulated that the French should evacuate Scotland, and an amnesty should be granted for all past offences. Soon after the parliament abolished the papal jurisdiction in Scotland, and established the presbyterian form of discipline, regardless of the refusal of Mary to sanction their acts. A. D. 1560.

Francis IV. of France died not long after, and Mary, finding her residence in that country no longer agreeable, applied to Elizabeth for a safe conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England, in her way to her native country. Answer was made, that she must expect no favour, unless she ratified the treaty that Elizabeth had concluded with her subjects; on which Mary, with indignation, replied, "Tell Elizabeth, I can return to Scotland without her leave." Accordingly, though she knew an English fleet was waiting to intercept her, she embarked at Calais, and landed safely at Leith. Though a widow, she was then only nineteen years of age, and by her beauty and the elegance of her manners, was well qualified to win the affections of her people; but, unfortunately, she was a zealous papist, and, on this account, John Knox, whose power was now paramount to royalty itself, took a brutal pleasure in treating her with insult and contumely.

The queen of Scots, destitute of the means of resistance, and pressed by a turbulent nobility and a bigotted people, was glad to come to terms

terms with Elizabeth; and, for a time, all the exterior appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendship subsisted between them.

Elizabeth, finding that she had nothing further to dread from the machinations of the Scots, employed herself in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom. She furnished the arsenals with arms, fortified the frontiers, promoted trade and navigation, and, by building vessels of force herself, suggested the same idea to the merchants. In a word, by uniting œconomy with vigour in all her undertakings, she was able to give a new character and direction to the nation, and justly acquired for herself the titles of the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas.

Though the queen did not choose that her subjects should dictate to her in regard to marriage, and in consequence had made some declarations in favour of celibacy, she, nevertheless, listened to proposals from the archduke Charles, from Eric king of Sweden, and Adolphus duke of Holstein. Even some of her own subjects flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining the hand of their sovereign; but the agreeable exterior of lord Robert Dudley, of the Northumberland family, seemed to engage her more than all the splendid offers of princes and monarchs. She took care, however, to mix policy with coquetry; and while she claimed the privilege of pleasing her own fancy, she avoided giving offence to any candidate for her favour. She appeared to be pleased with courtship, but kept aloof from matrimony.

Jealous of every person who was likely to institute pretensions to the crown, even as her successor,

cessor, she had procured from Mary a renunciation of all present claims; and when lady Catherine Grey, younger sister to lady Jane, had been espoused to the earl of Hertford, and proved pregnant, she ordered them both to be committed to the tower. Not being able to prove their nuptials within the time limited, the issue was declared illegitimate, and the unhappy earl was confined till the death of his wife, which setting Elizabeth free from the apprehension of heirs and claimants from that quarter, he obtained his liberty.

A. D. 1562.

At this time the two great rival powers of Europe were Spain and England. Philip, by his bigotry, was considered as the head of the catholic interest; while Elizabeth, by an opposite line of conduct, had made herself regarded as the bulwark of the protestants. France, rent with civil and religious broils, was the object of vigilance both to Philip and Elizabeth: the former supported the established government, the latter lent her aid to the Hugonots, or protestant party, which had been obliged to have recourse to arms, under the prince of Condé.

Three thousand English, by compact, took possession of Havre and Dieppe; but the latter place was so little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned. At Rouen, another body of English troops behaved with great gallantry; but the catholics soon after carrying the place by assault, put the Hugonot garrison to the sword.

It was expected that the French catholics would immediately have formed the siege of

Havre,

Havre, but the intestine divisions of the kingdom diverted their attention to another object. By the influence of Elizabeth, the Hugonots had levied a considerable body of protestants in Germany, and, with this reinforcement, they were able to take the field. A famous battle took place at Dreux, and Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, by a singular fatality, fell into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise, whose faction had seized the person of the young king, Charles the ninth; but the admiral Coligni, the able associate of Condé, soon turned the fortune of the day.

A. D. 1563. The expences incurred by supporting the Hugonots had emptied the queen's exchequer, and obliged her to call a parliament. On opening the session, as the life of Elizabeth had lately been endangered by the small-pox, the commons respectfully renewed their solicitations that she would choose a husband, whom they promised faithfully to serve; or, if she entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be appointed by an act of the legislature.

The queen, sensible that every heir was in some degree a rival, and balancing between the queen of Scots and the house of Suffolk, gave an evasive answer to the house of commons, declaring that she had fixed no absolute resolution against marriage, and felt the difficulties attending the question of the succession to be so great, that, for the sake of her people, she would be contented to remain some little time longer in this vale

vale of misery, in hopes of being able to settle that momentous affair with satisfaction and security.

During this interval, the duke of Guise had been assassinated before Orleans, and Condè and Montmorency had come to terms of accommodation, on condition that a toleration should be granted to the French protestants, and that both parties should unite their efforts to expel the English.

In consequence of this change of views and measures, Havre, which had remained for some time in possession of the English, was obliged to surrender to the arms of France; and Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight does not appear in this transaction, was now glad to compound matters, by agreeing that the hostages, which had been previously given on account of Calais, should be restored on the payment of two hundred and twenty thousand crowns, and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions.

The peace still continuing with Scotland, Elizabeth affected to be much interested in the happiness of Mary, and advised her to marry some English nobleman, which would put an end to all jealousies and misunderstandings between them. At last, Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, was named as the person on whom it was wished the choice of the queen of Scots should fall.

Leicester, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, possessed so many qualities that win with women, that he was even able to blind the sagacious Elizabeth in regard to his marked defects of character. He was proud, insolent, and

and ambitious, without honour or principle, and having aspired to the bed of his sovereign, he did not relish the proposal of espousing Mary. Indeed, it is probable, that the whole was a court intrigue, merely to gain time and to keep Mary in suspense; for when the queen of Scots, in the hopes of being declared successor to the crown, had shewn some inclination to the match, Elizabeth receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait which had been thrown out to her rival.

Tired with the turbulence of her subjects, and of solicitations at home and abroad, Mary at last married lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox, her cousin german, who, being likewise sprung from Henry VIII. was next heir to the crown of England after his spouse, and thus seemed to strengthen and unite both claims.

Though Elizabeth would probably have wished her rival to remain single, it seems in reality she was not much displeased with this match, yet she menaced, protested, and complained, as if she had received the most serious injury; and made this an excuse for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England, and for encouraging the discontents of the Scottish nobility and clergy, to whom she promised assistance in their rebellious schemes.

Mary, however, was no sooner informed of the plots that were forming by the duke of Chatelrault, the earls of Murray, Argyle, Rothes, Glencairn, and some others, than she assembled her forces, and obliged those noblemen to take shelter in England.

Elizabeth, finding the event disappoint her expectations, disowned all connections with the malcontents,

malcontents, and even drove them from her presence. They now had recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign; but the natural facility of her own disposition was, on this occasion, counteracted by the influence of the cardinal of Lorraine, who advised her by no means to pardon the protestant leaders.

This bigot, who was uncle to Mary, had been the chief instrument in forming an association between Philip and Catherine of Medicis, for the extermination of the protestants, and he took care that the conduct of his niece should be in unison with that of the other catholic powers. The fugitive nobles were attainted, and they were only saved from the rigour of the law by the ruin of Mary.

In her matrimonial union with Darnley, the queen of Scots had been solely allured by his youth and beauty; and, after a short cohabitation, finding him violent and ungrateful, addicted to low pleasures, and incapable of the tenderness of domestic endearments, her affections were gradually weaned from him. On the other hand, though he studiously neglected her, he was jealous of her indifference, and resented every refusal to comply with his most unreasonable expectations, and marked for vengeance every person who seemed to possess a more than ordinary share of Mary's confidence and esteem.

There happened to be in the court one David Rizzio, a Piedmontese musician, of low birth, who, by his professional talents and the arts of address, had insinuated himself highly into Mary's favour. He became her secretary for French dispatches; and was the only avenue

by

by which honour or emolument could be obtained; at the same time that he became more and more obnoxious to the whole kingdom, particularly to the nobles.

Darnley, being on bad terms with his queen, began to harbour suspicions of a criminal intercourse between her and her favourite; and his jealousy being fomented by the enemies of Rizzio, he determined on his assassination. Mary, in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private with the countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and some other domestics; when the king entering the room by a private passage, stood behind Mary's chair. George Douglas, lord Ruthven, and other conspirators, rushing in after him, as had been concerted, fell upon Rizzio, who ran to his mistress for protection, and in spite of her cries, her menaces, and entreaties, stabbed him in her presence, and then dragging him into the antichamber, dispatched him with fifty-six wounds.

The unhappy queen, informed of her favourite's fate, dried up her tears, and said she would weep no more, but think of revenge. At the intercession of Bothwell, a new favourite, she was reconciled to some of the conspirators; but she remained implacable against her husband, and did every thing in her power to render him contemptible. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, where Mary was delivered of a son, intelligence of which was immediately forwarded to England. Melvil, the ambassador on this occasion, tells us, that Elizabeth had given a ball to her court at Greenwich the evening of his arrival in London, and was displaying all her usual spirit and gaiety;

gaiety; but when she heard of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped, and she became melancholy at the reflection, that her rival had a son while she remained a barren stock.

The birth of a son gave additional zeal to Mary's partisans in England, and her prospects were growing every hour more bright, when they were suddenly blasted by her egregious indiscretion at least, and, as many are still inclined to suppose, by her atrocious guilt.

The earl of Bothwell was a man of power and consequence in Scotland, but of profligate manners. After the death of Rizzio, he had obtained an entire ascendancy over Mary, and reports were spread of too great an intimacy between them, though Bothwell was a married man. Certain it is, the queen evinced the greatest aversion to her husband, and so sensible was the king of this, that he had it in contemplation to retire into France or Spain.

While affairs were in this unpleasant situation, Darnley was taken ill, and the queen, affecting to be concerned about his fate, visited him, and a cordial reconciliation appeared to have been brought about between them. The king, naturally uxorious, and perhaps disposed to reform, gave himself up entirely to her. Being, however, in an infirm state of health, Mary assigned him a lodging in a solitary house, called the Kirk of Field, under a pretence that he would be there secure from the noise and bustle of the court. In this situation, the queen visited him with assiduous care, and even lay some nights in an apartment under his. On the night of the 9th of February, however, she told him she would sleep in the

palace,

palace, because the marriage of one of her domestics was to be celebrated in her presence. Of this no particular notice was taken; but about two o'clock, the whole city of Edinburgh was alarmed by a sudden noise; and, on inquiring into the cause, it was found that the house in which the king lay had been blown up with gunpowder, and that his dead body was carried by the violence of the explosion into a neighbouring field.

The general suspicion of this horrible crime fell principally upon Bothwell; and the father of Darnley, without hesitation, implored speedy justice against him and the other assassins. The queen, out of decency, was obliged to fix a day on which the charges against Bothwell were to be brought forward; but she did not withdraw her confidence in the least; and it being found impossible to produce any clear evidence of his guilt, he was acquitted of the murder of the king. The opinion, however, of his crime, was not removed by this decision, and he gave more colourable grounds to the black imputation, by soon after seizing the queen, and ostensibly carrying her off against her will, in order to force her to yield to his purpose. Her subjects would have revenged this foul dishonour, but she professed herself satisfied with Bothwell's conduct, and gave him a plenary pardon for the violence committed on her person, and all other crimes whatever.

A very short time after this scandalous transaction, Bothwell was divorced from his wife, and Mary, with indecent precipitation, raised him to her bed and to her throne. Elizabeth remonstrated against this marriag ewith apparent

parent friendship; the court of France did the same; but Mary sacrificed all to her passion for this worthless wretch, and scorned the united censures of Europe.

The spirit of a generous nation was at last roused; and Bothwell was obliged to fly. The queen was openly reproached for her crimes, and a painted banner was held before her eyes, whichever way she turned, on which were painted the murder of her husband and the distresses of her infant son. Her paramour, meanwhile, found means to reach the Orkneys, from whence he escaped to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, and, losing his reason, died ten years after, in extreme misery.

Mary herself was sent under a strong guard to Lochleven, and her fallen condition having inspired Elizabeth with compassion, the latter sent an ambassador, to declare that she would espouse her interest and see justice done her. Elizabeth further entreated her to prosecute the murderers of her husband, and to send her infant son to be educated in France, where he would be safe from the convulsions of faction.

The malcontents denied Throgmorton, the English ambassador, access to their queen; and various schemes were discussed for their future disposal of her. Meanwhile, the earl of Murray was appointed regent, and the captive queen signed a deed, by which she resigned her crown in favour of her son. Soon after this renunciation, which was no doubt forced, Mary found means to escape from Lochleven; and, being joined by some of the nobility, who remained faithful to her, in a few days beheld herself at the head of an army of six thousand men.

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The regent instantly took the field against her; and, coming to an engagement with the queen's forces at Langside, near Glasgow, gave them a total defeat. The unhappy Mary, flying from the field of battle with a few adherents, made haste to reach the English borders; and, rashly confiding to the late specious professions of Elizabeth, embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, from whence she dispatched a messenger to Elizabeth, to notify the step she had taken, to crave her protection, and request leave to visit her.

Elizabeth, not displeased that her rival had been so imprudent, attended rather to the suggestions of policy than generosity; and dispatched lord Scrope and sir Francis Knollis, to inform her, that she could not be received at the English court till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder. On this intelligence, Mary burst into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration, that she would submit her cause to the arbitration of her sister of England. The regent of Scotland too acquiesced in the same measure; and Mary was removed to Bolton, in Yorkshire, and placed under the care of lord Scrope, till this momentous affair could be cleared. After preliminaries had been adjusted, commissioners on the part of England, of Mary, and of the regent, representing the king and kingdom of Scotland, met at York, and the grand inquiry commenced. Doubts and difficulties, however, being started, Elizabeth removed the conferences to Hampton court, in order to be more ready to receive the appeals of either party.

Policy,

Policy, not justice, dictated the proceedings of the English court; and when Murray, the regent, was called upon to produce the proofs of his charge against Mary, he laid before the commissioners, love letters and sonnets, and a promise of marriage to Bothwell, before his acquittal, all written in the hand of the queen of Scots. These were sufficient vouchers of her imprudence, and of her criminal intercourse with Bothwell, though not of her guilt in regard to the murder of her husband; but Mary, having instructed her commissioners not to make a defence if any thing was advanced that touched her honour, and refusing to submit to a foreign tribunal, though she professed her readiness to clear her innocence to Elizabeth in person, the conferences came to an end without any decision being given.

Immediately after, Mary was removed to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and put under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth had entertained hopes that she would either have resigned her crown, or associated her son with her in the government; but the high-spirited Mary declared, that her last words should be those of a queen of Scotland, and therefore importuned Elizabeth either to assist her in recovering her authority, or to permit her to retire to France. Neither of these requests, however, were complied with.

Though the church of England had been sufficiently purified from the superstitions of popery, and no other ceremonies had been retained except what were necessary to preserve decency in divine service, and a proper distinction of its ministers, the puritans already began to inveigh

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against some of the sacerdotal vestments, as approaching too near to those of the church of Rome. Elizabeth, however, far from wishing to despoil religion of its becoming ornaments, took care to have a law for uniformity enacted and enforced; and she was the rather induced to adopt this measure, because she found the sectarian spirit in religion was united with the same freedom of discussion in what related to government, and the same degree of innovation in temporal as in spiritual affairs.

But the puritans were yet too insignificant to occasion Elizabeth much trouble. It was from a different cause that danger menaced her. The duke of Norfolk, the most powerful subject in the kingdom, having become a widower, his marriage with the queen of Scots had suggested itself to several of their mutual friends, probably before either of the principals had thought of such an event as desirable.

The duke at last, being drawn into this scheme, foresaw the difficulty that would attend his obtaining the consent of Elizabeth; and therefore took care to form a party among the nobility to favour his views and enforce his application. The kings of France and Spain too had been consulted, and gave their approbation of the measure; and though Elizabeth's consent was always held out as a previous condition of finishing this alliance, it was apparently the duke's object to overawe her by the strength of his party.

Elizabeth was not unacquainted with all the ramifications of this plan, and even gave Norfolk some hints to be cautious; but the duke either thinking he was safe, or wanting prudence or courage to open his intentions to his sovereign, suffered

suffered his enemies to explain them in a way most unfavourable to himself. When every thing that had been concerted by the conspirators was ripe for execution, the duke and many of his friends were arrested, and the queen of Scots herself was removed to Coventry, and all access to her, for a time, was more strictly prohibited.

Some of the conspirators, among whom were the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, dreading the consequences of their defection from duty, increased their guilt by flying to arms. About six thousand horse and foot took the field, and they expected to be joined by many more; but the duke of Norfolk, not only did not favour the enterprise, but made use of all his interest to suppress the rebellion; which being speedily effected, the queen was so well pleased with his behaviour, that she set him at liberty, and only exacted a promise from him to drop all further correspondence with the queen of Scots.

A. D. 1571.

Soon after, Murray, who had exercised the office of regent in Scotland, being assassinated, the earl of Lenox, the young king's grandfather, was elected to that high trust. About this time, an incident happened which served to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth. Pius V. who then filled the papal throne, having in vain endeavoured to conciliate the good will of Elizabeth, issued, as it is supposed, in concert with Mary, a bull of excommunication against her, which one John Felton affixing openly to the gates of the bishop of London, he received the reward of his temerity, the crown of martyrdom, which he appeared to have been ambitious to wear.

After an interval of five years, a new parliament was called, and already the principles of liberty began to have taken root, if we may judge from the freedom of some of the debates which took place in the house of commons. The puritans also agitated several questions respecting religion; but the queen, having imprudently noticed the speeches of one Strickland, had very nearly excited a ferment in that assembly. The art of ruling, by means of a parliament, was then unknown; and for a long period the chief business for which it was assembled, was to divide the odium of court measures, or to grant subsidies, which it would have been unpopular, as well as unconstitutional, to extort by virtue of the prerogative, though even that was frequently done.

On the whole, Elizabeth found this parliament sufficiently obsequious; and several acts were passed to confirm her authority, and to punish those who should in any respect violate their duty to their sovereign. It was made high treason to publish bulls, absolutions, or rescripts from the see of Rome; and the penalty of a præmunire was imposed on those who imported any *agnus dei*, crucifix, or other implement of superstition consecrated by the pope.

A subsidy was likewise granted, which Elizabeth in general took care to husband well. Indeed, she was averse to ask money, because it implied, according to her ideas, a degradation of power to become a solicitor; but when her coffers were low, she had no objection to recur to the ruinous expedients of granting, by virtue of her prerogative, patents and monopolies, at a certain price.

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The bigotry of Philip, and the inhuman severity of his representative, the duke of Alva, had driven many of the Flemings from their country. Elizabeth gave them shelter in her dominions, and reaped the advantage of their introducing into England some useful manufactures, hitherto unknown. The duke of Alva saw her generous protection of heretics with indignation, and formed a scheme with the Spanish ambassador and one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, for uniting the catholics and Mary queen of Scots in a confederacy against Elizabeth. The duke of Norfolk, in violation of his promise, renewed his correspondence with the captive queen; and, as he despaired of ever regaining the confidence of Elizabeth, for what he had already done, he determined to push matters to the most criminal extremes.

This new conspiracy had long escaped the vigilance of Cecil, now lord Burleigh; but Norfolk being betrayed by one of his servants, the whole was developed, and unquestionable evidence of that nobleman's guilt was produced. A jury of twenty-five peers passed sentence upon him; but it was four months before Elizabeth could be prevailed on to sign the warrant for his execution. A. D. 1572.

Elizabeth had charged the queen of Scots as the occasion of the disturbances which had just been suppressed, and her justification seemed so feeble, that the parliament wished her to be brought to trial; but the queen forbade them to proceed any farther in the affair, and only increased the rigour and strictness of her confinement.

About this time, the horrible massacre of the protes-

protestants in France took place, on the eve of St. Bartholomew; and, in order to cover this barbarous policy, Charles IX. commissioned his ambassador in England, to accuse the Hugonots of a conspiracy against his person. Elizabeth, without being convinced, listened to his apology, and even allowed negotiations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother, those with the duke of Anjou having been broken off; but at the same time she put her kingdom in a state of defence, and diligently cultivated the goodwill of her people.

A. D. 1579. Elizabeth had always considered her own interests as inseparable from those of the French reformed; but, awed by the mighty power of Philip, she was now obliged to deny the Fleming exiles entrance into her dominions. The cruelty of the duke of Alva, however, hastened that revolution which it aimed to prevent: the revolt of Holland and Zealand was organized under the auspices of the prince of Orange, and, in a short time, the other Batavian provinces united for mutual defence against the tyranny of Spain. Elizabeth, watching this favourable opportunity of humbling her formidable enemy, Philip first sent the revolters a sum of money, and afterwards concluded a treaty with them, in which she stipulated to assist them with a considerable body of military. It was farther agreed that the new states, as they began to call themselves, should enter into no alliance without her consent, and if any discord should arise among them, it was to be referred to her arbitration. Indeed, at first, the states wished to appoint her their sovereign, but this she declin-
ed,

ned, and still held out to Philip, that her sole motive for entering into an alliance with his revolted subjects, was to prevent them from throwing themselves into the arms of France. Philip dissembled his resentment, but waited only for a proper opportunity to take his revenge with effect.

Morton, who had been appointed regent of Scotland, having given disgust to the nobility, perceiving the danger of his situation, offered to resign; but his enemies, not satisfied with this, caused him to be arrested and tried as a traitor. He died with that constancy and resolution which had distinguished his eventful life; and Elizabeth, who had assembled a body of troops on the borders, to overawe his persecutors, had the mortification to find, that her zeal had only hastened his execution.

Elizabeth, indeed, throughout her whole reign, was always more particularly anxious about supporting an interest in Scotland, because England was alone accessible on that side. She was conscious of the active enmity of the Guises and Philip, and the latter was not long before he displayed it. In the name of the pope, he landed a small body of Spaniards and Italians in Ireland; but they were soon obliged to surrender; and when the English ambassadors complained of the invasion, they were answered by similar complaints of the piracies committed by Drake in the new world.

This gallant officer, setting sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, carrying 164 men, after committing various depredations on the Spaniards in South America, and taking several rich prizes, was the first Englishman

Englishman who completed the circumnavigation of the globe, and returned safely to his native country, after a voyage of more than three years.

A. D. 1580. In order to avert the resentment of Spain, Elizabeth was induced to disavow the adventure, but was so well pleased, in reality, with the conduct of her officer, that she conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, and accepted a banquet at Greenwich, on board his ship, which had performed such a memorable voyage.

A. D. 1581. About this time, she was obliged to have recourse to a parliament, to obtain a supply; and, during its sitting, some severe laws were made against the catholics, whose active malice against Elizabeth, had been lately reinforced by the Jesuits, a new order of regular priests.

These general laws against the catholics did not, however, prevent Elizabeth from continuing her negotiation of marriage with the duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, a suitor five and twenty years younger than herself. The courtiers, who had proposed the match out of policy, with no view of bringing it to a conclusion, from some symptoms of Elizabeth's affection, began to suspect that the intrigue had been carried too far. Anjou had visited his mistress, and on the anniversary of her coronation, she had been publicly noticed to take a ring from her own finger and place it upon his. This was generally interpreted as ratifying the contract which had long been negotiating, and England, and indeed most parts of Europe, soon rang with the incident. On this occasion, a puritan

ritan of Lincoln's-Inn had written a book, entitled, "the Gulph in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage." For this he was prosecuted as a libeller, by the queen's order, and condemned to lose his right-hand; but such was the constancy and loyalty of the man, that, immediately as sentence was executed, he took off his hat with his remaining hand, and waving it over his head, exclaimed, "God save the queen."

It really appears that Elizabeth did not part with the duke of Anjou, without a strong conflict between prudence and affection; but at last the former prevailed, and the duke left England, with many curses on the mutability of women and of islanders

The affairs of Scotland again engrossed the attention of Elizabeth. Some of the discontented nobles, at the head of whom was the earl of Gowry, formed a conspiracy, in which it is supposed the queen of England was a party, to seize the person of James. The king wept when he found himself under restraint; on which one of the conspirators observed, "No matter for his tears: it is better that boys weep than bearded men." This expression James never forgave; but he acquiesced in his own detention, and agreed to summon both an assembly of the church, and a convention of the estates, in order to ratify that enterprise. Arran and Lenox had been most obnoxious to the associators; the former was confined to his house, the latter fled to France; and Mary, hearing of her son's confinement, wrote in the most pathetic strain to Elizabeth, conjuring her to raise them both from their pre-

A. D. 1582.

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sent melancholy situation, and reinstate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled.

This humble application was in reality little attended to, though some ostensible steps were taken; but James in the mean time, impatient of restraint, escaped from his keepers, and flying to St. Andrew's, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The opposite party were glad to obtain a pardon, on making their submission; but some of them left the country, and took shelter in Ireland. Several changes now took place in Scotland; but they do not properly fall in this place to record.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth, who had sent Walsingham into Scotland, on purpose to penetrate the character of James, was inclined, from the favourable report of his capacity, in which, by the bye, that veteran minister had been a little deceived, to treat the young king with more respect than she had hitherto done. Perhaps, too, she was influenced by motives of interest; for though no person ever held the sceptre of England with a firmer hand than Elizabeth, she was never free from anxiety, on account of the machinations of the catholics.

Many of the plots which had been discovered were traced, or pretended to be traced to Mary; and as Elizabeth had few enemies, except among the zealous catholics, parliament resolved, "to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose succession, or for whose behoof, any violence should be offered to her majesty." This was evidently aimed at the

queen

queen of Scots; and to remove all suspicion from herself, she desired leave to subscribe this clause herself.

During the same session, a conspiracy was discovered, which increased the animosity against the catholics. One William Parry, who had formerly received the queen's pardon for a capital crime, being instigated by some Romanists of rank and authority, had returned to England, with the horrid design of assassinating her majesty, which was to be effected by shooting at her, as she took the air on horseback. The plot, however, was betrayed by one of his associates; and Parry being arrested, made a full confession of his guilt, and received the punishment due to his treasonable designs.

A. D. 1584.

About the same time, the prince of Orange being assassinated at Delft, the chief remaining reliance of the Flemings was on Elizabeth; and they sent a solemn embassy to London, to acknowledge her as their sovereign, on condition of their gaining her protection and assistance. The queen's situation was delicate, but at length she determined to prevent the total subjection of the revolted provinces, without becoming their sovereign; and, accordingly, she sent the earl of Leicester with a considerable army to their deliverance.

At this period, a fleet of twenty sail, under sir Francis Drake, was detached to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies; and this armament, after doing considerable execution, sailing along the coast of Virginia, found the small remains of a colony which had been planted there by sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone miserably to decay. This was the first

attempt of the English at colonization in the new world; and, though it had failed, it did not long prevent them from renewing their enterprises in the same way.

Leicester was less successful in the Netherlands; and, though he gained some partial advantages, they were more than overbalanced by the loss of his kinsman, sir Philip Sydney, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Zutphen. This person is described by cotemporary writers as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman, that even the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction could form. Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render Sydney the ornament of the English court. The king of Scots, struck with admiration of his virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses; and even those whom he had opposed, joined their regrets with his friends.

Elizabeth, sensible of the powerful enmity she had provoked, by her open aid to the revolted Flemings, took care to secure herself on the side of Scotland, by entering into an alliance with James, for the mutual defence of their dominions and of their religion, now menaced by the avowed combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. But the unfortunate Mary, irritated beyond all patience, by her cruel confinement,
A. D. 1586. and zealous for popery, entered into very different views from those of her son; and was ready to forward any plan for the destruction of Elizabeth. Ballard, a Romish priest, encouraged by the hopes of succours from the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise, came over to England, and bent his en-

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deavours to effect at once an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion.

The first person to whom he confided his secret, was Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, who with romantic ardour had espoused the cause of Mary. Savage, a man of desperate courage, entertained the same design of taking off Elizabeth, as an enemy to his religion; and Mary, being apprised by Babington of what was intended in her favour, and of the tragical execution meditated against Elizabeth, warmly, but incautiously, approved the conspiracy.

Ballard, however, being arrested before the plot was ripe for execution, his confederates betook themselves to flight; but most of them being taken soon after, were tried, condemned, and executed.

The lesser conspirators being thus dispatched, it was next determined to bring Mary to condign punishment. Her secretaries were arrested, her papers were seized, and herself was committed to Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire.

A commission, consisting of forty noblemen and privy counsellors, was appointed and empowered to pass sentence on Mary, who was described in the instrument as late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland.

Mary behaved with great dignity on this awful occasion, protested her innocence, and at the same time declared that she did not consider herself, as a sovereign queen, amenable to any foreign jurisdiction. Her pleas, however, were overruled; her letters and the confessions of the conspirators were produced in evidence against

her;

her; and though she defended herself with great strength of argument, and almost unexampled magnanimity, the commissioners were unanimous in declaring her guilty "of having been accessary to Babington's conspiracy, and of having imagined diverse matters, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of Elizabeth, contrary to the express words of the statute made for the security of the queen's life."

The parliament ratified this sentence, which certainly was very irregular, if not unjust, and urged the queen to have it speedily executed. Elizabeth, however, affecting clemency, asked if it were not possible to secure the public tranquillity by any other expedient, besides the death of the queen of Scots; but when the princes of Europe interfered, and intermingled entreaties, threats, and reproaches, Elizabeth remained obdurate, and deaf to their remonstrances. James warmly interceded for his mother, but with no more success; and Elizabeth, tired with importunity, and dreading future consequences, ordered Davison her secretary to draw a warrant for the execution of Mary, and to procure the great seal to be affixed to it. Still she wished it to be believed, that this was only meant as a precaution in case an attempt should be made to rescue the condemned queen, and blamed Davison when she found that he had observed such promptitude in complying with her commands; but her council, to whom the secretary unbosomed himself, advised him to send off the warrant directly, promising to take the whole blame of the measure on themselves. Davison followed their suggestion without farther reference to his mistress, and the warrant

was dispatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, commanding them to see the sentence executed on the queen of Scots.

Mary, informed of this commission, though somewhat surprised, betrayed no symptoms of fear. The night before her execution, she called in all her servants, and bade them a solemn farewel. Next morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, and declaring her resolution to die in the faith in which she had been educated, suffered decapitation, with the fortitude of a hero, and the constancy of a martyr.

Thus perished, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots, a woman of the most eminent beauty, and highest mental accomplishments; but, unfortunate in wanting prudence, and therefore, unhappy in her life. Yet, with all the improprieties that either truth or malice can impute to her, had she not fallen in with such untoward circumstances, and appeared in such troublesome times, she might have passed through existence with pleasure, and perhaps with applause. In her numerous misfortunes, we forget her faults; and in the fascination of her charms, the errors of her heart are overlooked.

Elizabeth, who had so long acted the hypocrite in regard to her, affected to receive the news of her death, with violent emotions of surprise and concern. She wrote an exculpatory letter to James; and she ordered Davison, the innocent dupe of her artifice, into prison. He was tried for a misdemeanor, and after lying a long time in custody, was reduced to beggary, by

by the heavy fine imposed upon him, and obliged to solicit pecuniary assistance, to keep him from perishing of want. In his private apology, which he wrote to his friend Walsingham, we find incontestible proofs of Elizabeth's duplicity in regard to Mary, and want of generosity to himself.

The queen's dissimulation, indeed, was too gross to have much effect; and James and his nobles breathed nothing but vengeance: but, when the son of Mary began coolly to reflect on the consequences of a war with England, and the rich inheritance which it might deprive him of, without his being able to make the least impression on Elizabeth, he stifled his resentments, and assumed the semblance of friendship to the murderer of his mother.

Elizabeth was now, indeed, delivered from all apprehensions of a rival claimant to her throne, but her cares were by no means at an end. Though Drake had burned a rich Spanish fleet, lying at Cadiz, and Cavendish had returned from a fortunate expedition against the Spanish settlements in America; the English, under Leicester, had been very little successful in the Netherlands; and, in consequence of representations that had been made against this prime favourite for misconduct, he lost her confidence for a time.

Various cabals, indeed, agitated the court; but the attention of the public was called off from petty squabbles for power and place, by a threatened invasion of England, from Spain. In every port of that kingdom, Philip had for some time been equipping ships of large size and force, and filling them with stores and provisions. The

most

most renowned nobility of Italy and Spain were ambitious to embark in this enterprise; and the Spaniards, vain and confident, had already denominated this armament, "The Invincible Armada."

Elizabeth possessed neither ships nor men, capable of being compared with this formidable equipment; but, what was wanting in number, was supplied with energy and patriotism. Every place in the kingdom was animated with a desire to contribute its assistance, to resist such a potent and hated enemy, by ships, men, and money. The nobility and gentry vied with each other in the same generous career; courage inspired all ranks, and the ardour was caught from man to man.

Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of distinguished abilities, was appointed admiral of the fleet; and Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under his command. Lord Seymour, second son of the protector Somerset, had a small detached squadron, with which he lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

The troops were disposed along the coast in such a manner, as might most effectually protect the country; and the earl of Leicester, who had been restored to favour, lay at Tilbury, with two thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in order to cover the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, commanded by lord Hunsdon, and these were reserved for guarding the queen's person, and marching wherever necessity might require their services. All these, however, were far inferior in number and discipline to the Spaniards,

niards, under the duke of Parma, the most consummate general of his age; and men of reflection began to tremble for the event.

Elizabeth acted with great prudence and resolution, and ingratiated herself with her people, by every possible art. She reminded them of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain: she set before their eyes the bloody massacres in the Indies; and the unrelenting cruelties exercised on the Flemings. And the more to excite, and keep alive the martial spirit of the nation, she rode on horseback through the lines at Tilbury, and with a cheerful animated countenance, exhorted them to remember their duty to their country and their God. All, with one voice, swore to defend the glorious cause in which they were engaged, and longed to signalize their courage.

The armada, on its first leaving port, had suffered considerably from storm; but all the damages being speedily repaired, they put to sea with a fleet of one hundred and thirty larger vessels than ever were before seen in Europe, carrying upwards of thirty thousand men, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance.

The duke of Medina, its commander, made sail directly for Plymouth, where he was informed the English admiral lay in harbour; and Effingham had scarcely time to get out of port, when he saw the armada advancing towards him, in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles, from one extremity to the other.

Effingham gave orders to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity of winds, currents, or other accidents, scattering them;

nor was it long before the event answered his expectation. A large ship taking fire by accident, fell behind; and another springing her mast, were both taken, after some resistance, by sir Francis Drake. As the armada advanced up the channel, the English hung on its rear; and the latter soon found, that the largeness of the Spanish ships, which they had so much dreaded, neither gave security to the foe, nor proved so great an annoyance to their opponents as might have been expected. Their bulk exposed them the more to the shot of the English; while their cannon, placed too high, passed over the heads of their enemies.

The armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor, in expectation that the duke of Parma would put to sea and join them. The English admiral, however, filling eight of his smallest vessels with combustibles, and sending them in, one after the other, the Spaniards were so much alarmed, that they cut their cables, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The English, whose fleet now amounted to one hundred and forty sail, fell upon them next morning, while in confusion; and, besides doing great damage to other ships, took or destroyed twelve of the enemy, with very trivial loss on their own side.

The Spanish admiral, frustrated in all his hopes, and beaten in every conflict, began to despair; and prepared to conduct his shattered ships to their native ports, by the circuitous route of Scotland and Ireland: but a violent tempest overtaking them near the Orkneys, many were dashed on the coasts, and not one half of them ever reached Spain, from which they had set out with such high expectations.

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A. D. 1588. The discomfiture of the armada begat a kind of enthusiastic passion for naval enterprises against Spain; and Elizabeth rather lent her sanction, than had the expence of equipping some very successful armaments, on a small scale, against her inveterate enemies. Among those who most signalized themselves, either as private adventurers or regularly commissioned officers, were Drake and Norris, Grenville, Howard, and the earl of Cumberland.

The war, however, still continued in the Netherlands; and Henry, king of Navarre, a protestant, ascending the throne of France, as lawful heir to that monarchy, the catholic interest deserted him, and the king of Spain entertained views of dismembering his dominions. Surrounded with difficulties, he addressed himself to Elizabeth, and procured her aid, both in men and money, which was of the most essential service to his affairs. The English auxiliaries acquired great reputation in the cause of Henry, and revived in France, the ancient fame of their valour.

A. D. 1598. A parliament being called, to obtain a supply for the prosecution of the war, Elizabeth sufficiently shewed that she rated her prerogative above money, or thought her authority so well established, that she needed not to make any concessions in return. When sir Edward Coke, the speaker, made to her the then usual requests of freedom from arrests, access to her person, and liberty of speech, she declared that she would not impeach the freedom of their persons, nor deny them access to her, provided it were upon urgent occasions; but

but she defined the liberty of speech, not to consist in uttering what every one listeth, but merely in saying *aye* or *no*. Some of the members, however, transgressed these despotic orders, and became the objects of her majesty's displeasure; but, on the whole, this parliament was sufficiently observant of her arbitrary mandates, and fell in with all her favourite measures.

In France, Henry the fourth, squaring his principles by the necessity of his affairs, had renounced the protestant religion, and embraced popery. Nevertheless, though Elizabeth was displeased with his conduct, she continued to him, succours of men and money; sensible that Philip and his allies were still their common enemies. By her powerful assistance, Henry finally succeeded in breaking the force of the League, which, after his conversion, went daily to decay; and, by degrees, Elizabeth was able to recal her troops, without prejudice to the cause of her ally.

Soon after, she formed a new treaty with the States, by which their independence was more openly acknowledged, and the power of Philip to molest them was curbed. It was not, however, in the Netherlands, that the queen of England gave the severest blows to her haughty enemy: her naval enterprises were most fatal to him, and most honourable to herself. James Lancaster, with three ships and a pinnace, destroyed thirty-nine Spanish ships, and sacked Fernambouc, on the coast of Brazil. The expedition of sir Walter Raleigh, to discover the coast of Guiana, was less successful; though it added to the character of that officer, for honourable and daring enterprise. The

A. D. 1597.

The English too were disappointed in an attempt on Panama, under sir Francis Drake, which so affected that brave man, that it threw him into a distemper, of which he died.

The danger and uncertainty attending these distant expeditions, determined the English to attack their enemy nearer home. A powerful fleet of one hundred and seventy vessels, carrying upwards of seven thousand soldiers, besides a considerable number of Dutch auxiliaries, setting sail from Plymouth, after making a fruitless attempt to land at St. Sebastian, on the western side of Cadiz, determined to attack the ships and gallies in the bay. This enterprise was chiefly adopted on the strenuous recommendation of Essex, a young nobleman of great gallantry, and who had been rapidly rising into favour with his mistress. Effingham, the commander in chief, appointed sir Walter Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard to lead the van in this attack; but the impetuosity of Essex led him to press forward, contrary to the injunctions of the admiral; and having landed his men, they immediately marched to Cadiz, which the irresistible valour of the English soon carried, sword in hand. Essex, no less humane than brave, put a stop to the slaughter as soon as possible: the plunder was immense; but a much greater was lost, by the Spanish admiral setting fire to the ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

Soon after, Raleigh alone, made a daring and successful attack upon Fyal, one of the Azores, by which he excited the jealousy of Essex, who had been appointed general in that expedition, and could not endure that glory should be snatched from his grasp; and, though a reconciliation

ciliation took place between them, this laid the first foundation of that violent animosity which afterwards broke out.

Essex, indeed, had gained such an ascendant over the queen, that he could not brook any rival either in glory or influence. Henry the fourth having made peace with Philip, Burleigh advised Elizabeth to take this opportunity of finishing the war on equitable terms. This measure was violently opposed by Essex, who urged, that her majesty had no reason to fear the issue of the contest; and that it would be dishonourable for her to desert the Hollanders, till their affairs were placed in a state of greater security.

The counsels of Essex proved most agreeable to Elizabeth; and had Essex been endowed with temper and prudence, he might soon have engrossed the entire confidence of his mistress; but presuming too much on royal favour, on a certain occasion, meeting with opposition in council, he was so heated by argument, and so forgetful of the rules of decency and civility, that he turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Elizabeth, naturally prone to anger, instantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a passionate expression, suitable to his impertinence; when, instead of an apology, he clapped his hand on his sword, swearing he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry the eighth, and immediately withdrew from court.

The queen, however, was soon induced to pardon his indiscretion; and Burleigh dying soon after, equally regretted, both by his sovereign and the people, he was left without a rival.

 The

The death of this profound and sagacious statesman, was soon followed by that of Philip the second; who, wearied of contending with his revolted subjects, had transferred the Netherlands to his daughter, married to the archduke Albert: but as this did not materially alter the title, all engagements formerly entered into between Elizabeth and the revolters were confirmed; and nothing less than absolute independence was the object contended for.

A. D. 1599. During these transactions, a rebellion began to be organized in Ireland, where the authority of England had hitherto been little more than nominal, and no care had been taken to make the interests of both nations the same. Instead of being incited to adopt the civilized customs of their conquerors, the Irish were every where marked out as aliens and enemies; and the hard and injurious treatment they met with, eventually made them such. Insurrections had been frequent in former reigns; and from the accession of Elizabeth, Ireland had been continually disturbed by the revolts of the native chieftains. The most formidable of these was O'Neale, the head of a potent clan; and who, disdaining the title of earl of Tyrone, with which Elizabeth had invested him, assumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulster, and entered into a correspondence with Spain, from whence he procured a supply of arms and ammunition.

By retiring within the bogs and fastnesses of the country, O'Neale had successively baffled the military skill of sir John Norris, and sir Henry Bagnall; and had even obtained a victory over the

the latter, in which one thousand five hundred English, and the general himself, were left dead on the spot.

The queen, sensible that some vigorous measures were become absolutely necessary, appointed Essex as her deputy in Ireland, and gave him the command of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The first act of his government was generous, but indiscreet; as he gave his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, the command of the horse, in violation of an express injunction from his mistress. When reprimanded for this, he had the audacity to remonstrate; and it was not till the queen reiterated her commands, that he could be prevailed on to supersede his friend.

Essex was no less impolitic in the conduct of his campaign. He wasted the best part of the season for action, in reducing Munster; and when at last he marched against Tyrone, in Ulster, his army was reduced by sickness and desertion, and terrified with the reputation of the Irish rebel.

Convinced, from all these untoward circumstances, that it would be impossible, for the present, to make any impression on Tyrone, he listened to overtures for a conference, which accordingly took place. The generals met without any attendants: a river ran between them; but Tyrone, as a mark of submission, entered it a considerable way, while Essex stood on the bank. A suspension of hostilities was agreed upon till next spring, renewable from time to time; but which might be broken by either party, on a fortnight's notice being given. Essex also received proposals of peace from Tyrone, which

were couched in such high terms, that it was suspected they never would have been delivered, had not some secret understanding taken place between the generals.

Elizabeth was highly provoked at the unexpected issue of this great and expensive enterprise; and Essex was no sooner certified of her displeasure, than he hastened to throw himself at her feet. He arrived unexpected by any one; and, covered as he was with dirt and sweat, he found his way into the queen's bed chamber, just as she was risen. After some private conversation, he retired, satisfied with his reception; but, though the queen had thus been taken by surprise to forgive his misconduct, she afterwards judged it proper to confine him to his house.

Essex, on this occasion, professed an entire submission to the queen's will, and declared his intention of retiring from the court; but, though he affected to be cured of ambition, the agitation of his mind, which was increased by the triumph of his enemies, threw him into a distemper, which seemed to threaten his life. This revived all the queen's affection for her favourite: she sent her physicians to attend him, and added some kind messages, which were more efficacious in curing a wounded mind, than any medicines that could be prescribed.

Essex, now allowed the company of his countess and friends, passed his time in the pursuits of elegant literature; and all the world saw that he would speedily regain his ascendant at court. But Elizabeth, who wished to reclaim not to ruin him, on one occasion pushed her severity too far, in refusing him what might have been regarded

regarded as a trifle—a renewal of a monopoly of sweet wines, the patent for which was nearly expired. This exhausted his patience; and, in the peevishness of disappointment, he observed, "that the queen was grown an old woman, and become as crooked in her mind as her body."

As Elizabeth still affected to be thought a beauty, though verging towards her seventieth year, she could not fail to be provoked at these contemptuous expressions; yet she had still greater reason to be offended at the secret machinations of Essex, to have James's right to the succession openly declared. That monarch, however, declined sharing in the scheme; and Essex, disappointed in his project, assembled at Drury-house a violent council of malcontents, who discussed the most criminal designs, chiefly with a view of regaining his power over the queen, and overthrowing his enemies.

Suspicions being excited against him, he was summoned to attend the council; and, concluding that the whole conspiracy was discovered, he rashly sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed with only walking swords, and tried to raise the city in his favour, by exclaiming "For the queen! For the queen! A plot is laid for my life!" The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but in the meantime, being proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, and seeing few ready to espouse his cause, he forced his way back to his house, where he barricadoed himself.

Soon after, he surrendered at discretion; and was brought to his trial, with his friend the earl of Southampton. Essex spoke like a man who expected nothing but death; and who, though

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he did not despise clemency, was too proud to crave it; but the behaviour of Southampton was more modest and submissive, and he made a sensible impression on his judges.

Essex, though insensible to the fears of death, was yet subdued by the sentiments of religion, and therefore was induced to make a full confession of all his designs and accomplices. His situation touched the heart of Elizabeth: she signed the warrant for his execution; countermanded it; and again resolved on his death; but at last, finding he made no appeal to her mercy, she concluded his heart was hardened against her, and he suffered decollation in the tower, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

Some of Essex's confederates were tried, condemned, and executed; but Southampton was saved, though he remained in prison during the remainder of this reign. The king of Scots, fearful lest he should be implicated, sent ambassadors to congratulate Elizabeth on her escape from this danger; and these entering into a correspondence with Cecil, whose influence was now uncontrolled, it was agreed on that James should remain quiet, and patiently expect the inheritance of the crown, from the natural order of events.

In Ireland, Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex in command, had acted with the greatest vigour and success; and by reducing Tyrone to great difficulties, gave a fair prospect of terminating the war, with credit to himself, and advantage to his country. The expences, however, which had been incurred on this account, obliged Elizabeth once more to have recourse to a parliament; yet it still appeared that she valued pre-

rogative

rogative as highly as in her youthful days. Patents for monopolies had now become so frequent, that one of the members, when a list of them was recited, cried out, "Is not bread in the number?" "Bread!" said every one with astonishment. "Yes, I assure you," replied he, "if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament." In fact, so oppressive had these monopolies become, by the exactions which were practised, in consequence of the powers granted by patents, that parliament had the courage to bring in a bill for abolishing them; and the queen, perceiving how odious they were, agreed that the most grievous of them should be cancelled. In return for this concession, for such it was then considered, parliament voted her an unprecedentedly large supply of four subsidies and eight fifteenths.

With this money, Elizabeth fitted out a squadron of nine ships, under the command of sir Richard Levison and sir William Monson; which, attacking the harbour of Coimbra, in Portugal, sunk and destroyed eleven gallies in it, and brought off a carrack, valued at a million of ducats.

Soon after this, Tyrone, the titular king of Ulster, had been obliged to surrender to lord Mountjoy a prisoner at discretion, who purposed bringing him a captive to England. But Elizabeth was now become incapable of receiving pleasure from sublunary events. Some incidents had revived her tenderness for Essex, and filled her with excess of sorrow. On a former occasion, she had given

A. D. 1603.

given him a ring as a pledge of her affection; assuring him, that into whatever disgrace he might happen to fall, if he sent her this token of regard, she would immediately afford him a patient hearing, and lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex had reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his condemnation, he resolved to make the experiment, and sent it by the countess of Nottingham to the queen. The countess, at the instigation of her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, failed to execute her commission; and the queen, ascribing the neglect to his invincible obstinacy, at last signed the warrant for his death. Lady Nottingham, however, falling into a dangerous sickness, and stung with remorse for her conduct, having obtained a visit from the queen, revealed to her majesty the fatal secret. Elizabeth burst into frantic passion; and, shaking the dying countess in her bed, cried out "God may pardon you; but I never can."

From this moment, the queen fell into the deepest and most incurable melancholy; refused either food or medicine, and, throwing herself on the floor, remained in that state ten days, and as many nights, uttering only groans and sighs; deaf to consolation, and averse to attention.

Her end was now visibly approaching, and her council being assembled, commissioned the lord keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her majesty's pleasure with regard to a successor. With a faint voice she replied, that "she had held a royal sceptre, and required no other than a royal successor;" and being requested by Cecil to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined,

joined, "she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be, but her nearest kinsman the king of Scots?"

Soon after, her voice failed, and her senses were lost; and falling into a lethargic slumber, she gently expired, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-ninth of her reign.

So dark was the cloud which overspread the evening of that day, whose meridian lustre had dazzled the eyes of Europe. Yet, though we give Elizabeth full credit for vigour, firmness, penetration, and address, we in vain look for those qualities which are calculated to command our love. Her heroism was, indeed, exempt from rashness, her frugality from avarice, and her activity from the turbulence of ambition; but the rivalship of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger, sullied the perfection of her character; and shewed that she was still a woman, but without the amiability of her sex. As a queen, however, her conduct was in general praise-worthy, and her fame unalloyed. She consulted the happiness of her people, as far as her ideas of prerogative would allow, and their security and defence were never placed in abler hands. Her ministers were selected with great judgment and discrimination; and if her favourites were not always the most worthy, she took care that their vices or follies should not injure her subjects.

The maxims of her government were highly arbitrary, but these she inherited from her father, and thought it her duty to transmit. A well regulated constitutional balance was not yet established; and we shall find in the sequel, that it cost the nation many struggles, and some dreadful

dreadful convulsions, before it could enjoy legitimate liberty, and render prerogative subservient to the general welfare of the community.

Elizabeth's œconomy was a remarkable trait in her character; and it seems to have arisen from the noblest principle—the love of independence. It is difficult to ascertain the exact amount of her revenue; but it certainly fell short of half a million a year. "If we compute that the supplies granted her by parliament, in a reign of forty-five years, were in the aggregate three millions, we shall probably be not far from the truth; and when it is considered what she accomplished with this apparently trivial sum, we shall have reason to applaud that example of her frugal administration, and to wish that it had been perpetually observed.

In a word, when we contemplate the glories of Elizabeth's reign, we forget the foibles incident to humanity. Under her, the navy was raised to a height never known before; and the bravery and skill of her captains, have never been excelled. Navigation and commerce were encouraged, or rather established; and manufactures and elegant arts were brought to some degree of perfection.

Learning, however, did not find her a munificent patron, though her own acquirements were of no ordinary cast. Spenser, the most inventive of English poets, who has immortalized her memory, was long neglected; and after the death of his patron, sir Philip Sydney, was suffered to languish in indigence and obscurity.

CHAP.

[library stamp]

CHAP. XIII.

The Reign of James I.

THE crown of England passed with the utmost tranquillity, from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. In James's journey from Edinburgh, all ranks of people flocked around him; and so well was he pleased with the proofs he received of the affections of his people, that in the first six weeks after his accession, he conferred the honour of knighthood on no fewer than two hundred and thirty-seven persons, besides raising several from inferior to higher dignities; and among the rest, his Scottish courtiers were thought to be too liberally noticed. A. D. 1603.

It must be confessed, however, that James left almost all the great offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers. Among these, Cecil was successively raised to the dignity of lord Effingdon, viscount Cranbourne, and earl of Salisbury, and regarded as premier and chief counsellor; but his former associates, sir Walter Raleigh, lord Grey, and lord Cobham, were discountenanced on account of the animosity they had shown against the unfortunate earl of Essex, who had, in some measure, fallen a martyr to his zeal in James's cause.

In the year 1589, James, much against the will of Elizabeth, had espoused Anne, princess of Denmark, by whom he had several children. Thus, the doubts of a succession which had so long tormented the English, were now removed to a considerable distance, and were only liable to

to be revived by those vicissitudes, from which the human condition is never exempt.

Among the ambassaders who came to compliment the king on his accession, was the duke of Sully, prime minister of Henry the fourth of France, who proposed to James, to join in a league with Venice and the United States, for the attack of the Austrian dominions; but the ruling passion of the king of England was peace, and he declined to enter into any engagements which could disturb it.

Yet James was not long permitted to enjoy that tranquillity which he loved. A conspiracy was soon discovered; the object of which was to place Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king's, and equally descended from Henry the seventh, on the throne. Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the principals in this plot; and, though he was convicted on incompetent evidence, he was only reprieved, not pardoned, and lay many years a prisoner in the tower.

The religious disputes between the church and the puritans, which had continually been increasing since the reformation, induced the king to call a conference at Hampton-court; but James being already prejudiced against the puritanical principles of the Scots, he declared himself on the side of the established church, and often repeated his favourite maxim, NO BISHOP, NO KING.

A. D. 1604.

The learning and eloquence of James were not contemptible; but the one was tinctured with pedantry, the other with affectation. He had succeeded very well among theologians; but when a parliament was called, which had been delayed some time on account of a dreadful plague in London,

London, he found more exercise for his talents, and less success from their exertions.

The principles of liberty, which had sometimes displayed themselves during the reign of his predecessor, having now taken deeper root, were not so easily checked. James, however, made the attempt, and declared to the house, "that all their privileges were derived from his grant, and hoped they would not turn them against him." The commons, in some measure, receded from their pretensions; and though James of his own accord abolished all patents for monopolies, exclusive companies, wardships, and purveyances, remained as a burden upon the people.

An union of the two kingdoms was a favourite object with James, and did honour to his discernment; but the commons opposed it with impolitic zeal, and the business was dropped.

To procure money from the commons was still more difficult, and James, soured with the temper of his parliament, prorogued it with visible marks of dissatisfaction. He had the pleasure, however, to conclude a peace with Spain, and therefore supplies were less necessary.

It was at this auspicious juncture of foreign and domestic quiet, that the nation was astonished by the discovery of the "Gunpowder Plot." The catholics, disappointed in their expectations of favour from James, were enraged beyond all measure. Catesby, a gentleman of that persuasion, first thought of an extraordinary method of revenge, which was no other than to blow up the parliament house, when the members should be assembled, and the king opening the session.

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This diabolical scheme he communicated to Percy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland, who being charmed with the measure, they cautiously inlisted some other conspirators, and sent over to Flanders in quest of one Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, of whose zeal and resolution they entertained no doubt.

Every thing being concerted, and the conspirators having taken an oath of secrecy, which they confirmed by receiving the sacrament together, a house was hired in the name of Percy, adjoining that in which the parliament assembled; and finding that a cellar was to be let under the house of lords, they seized the opportunity of renting it, and forming a communication between Percy's house and it, deposited there thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, which they covered with faggots and billet wood. The doors of the vault were then boldly thrown open, to prevent any appearance of danger; and nothing remained, but to watch the opportunity of rendering their horrible malice complete.

A. D. 1605.

The king, the queen, and prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of parliament; but prince Charles, by reason of his tender age, would necessarily be absent, and him it was intended to assassinate. The princess Elizabeth alone remained of the royal family whom papistical vengeance had not devoted, and it was resolved to seize her, and proclaim her queen immediately after the catastrophe.

Twenty conspirators had sacredly kept this dreadful secret nearly a year and an half; but the same bigotry which had given rise to the plot,

plot, was directed as an engine by Providence to reveal it. A few days before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, who was a catholic, received the subsequent letter from an unknown hand.

"My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance in this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past, as soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commend you."

Monteagle, as well as Salisbury to whom he communicated it, considered the letter as a foolish attempt to frighten; but James, pondering the enigmatical but strong words of the epistle, immediately conceived that they must allude to danger from gunpowder.* In consequence it was determined to search the vaults under the house of parliament; but that they might detect not only the conspiracy but the

* It is not improbable that James might be led to this conclusion from recollecting the catastrophe of his father.

 conspirators,

conspirators, it was judged expedient to be quiet till the night before the commencement of the session.

On that evening sir Thomas Knevet entering the vault hired by Percy, found Fawkes at the door, who was immediately seized, the faggots and powder discovered, and the very matches to set fire to the train found in the prisoner's pocket.

Fawkes, with the enthusiasm of a fanatic, finding it useless to dissemble, boldly expressed his concern that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council he displayed the same intrepidity, refusing to give up his accomplices; but being left to reflect on his guilt and his danger for a few days in the tower, his courage began to fail him, and he made a full discovery of the conspirators, who never exceeded the number of eighty. They all suffered death in one way or other; and, horrible as their crime was, in the eyes of the bigotted catholics some of them were regarded as martyrs.

The king at this time seems to have enjoyed the entire affections of his people and parliament. His learning, which was not contemptible, obtained him the name of the second Solomon; but with all his wisdom, he could not produce an union between the two kingdoms, though he procured a repeal of the hostile laws which had been enatted in former times on both sides the Tweed.

On the motion of sir Edward Sandys, the commons entered for the first time an order for

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the regular keeping of their journals; a proof that they began to feel themselves of the proper weight in the scale of the constitution.

In a following session the lord treasurer Dorset laid open the king's necessities, but the commons made no endeavours to relieve them; and as the prerogatives of his predecessors could not be resorted to, without murmurings and remonstrances, James soon found himself in an unpleasant situation. Inheriting all the high notions of regal government which had marked the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth, he made a continual effort to keep up his prerogatives, which a more enlightened age and a more independent parliament were equally zealous to curb or diminish. In short, in the first parliament of James, which sat nearly seven years, were developed all those principles which, acquiring strength by time and irritated by opposition, at last overthrew all obstacles, and plunged the nation in confusion.

A. D. 1608.

The boasted master-piece of James was the management of Ireland; and to civilize that country, it was necessary to abolish its ancient institutions. By the Brehen custom, every crime, including those of the deepest dye, might be atoned for by a fine. This rate was called eric. The English having formed a design of sending a sheriff into Fermenaugh, Maguire, one of the chiefs of that district, replied, "Your sheriff shall be welcome to me; but let me know beforehand his eric, or the price of his head, that if my people cut it off, I may levy the money on the county." Small offences were cognizable by no law; and in this horrible state of society, the efforts of James to produce amelioration

amelioration were undoubtedly praiseworthy. He substituted the English laws in the room of savage institutions; declared the natives free citizens; established circuits; and, by means of a small army severely disciplined, kept the country in a state of quiet hitherto unknown.

A. D. 1612. While the king was thus laudably employed, the death of Henry prince of Wales, in the eighteenth year of his age, spread a general gloom over the prospects of the nation. Neither his high birth nor his youth had seduced him into any irregularities: business and ambition were his sole delight. His inclinations as well as exercises were martial. The French ambassador taking leave of him, and asking his commands for France, found him employed in the exercise of the pike: "Tell your king," said he, "in what occupation you found me engaged." For sir Walter Raleigh, a prisoner in the tower, he seems to have conceived a strong affection and esteem. "Surely," observed he, "no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage."

The marriage of the princess Elizabeth with Frederic elector palatine, which took place soon after, served to dissipate the grief which arose from this melancholy event. But this marriage, though happy to the nation in its remote and ultimate consequences, was unfortunate both to the king and his son-in-law. The elector, trusting to so powerful an alliance, entered on enterprises beyond his strength; and the king, not being able to support his pretensions, lost entirely, towards the close of his life, the esteem and regard of his own subjects.

A pacific reign, though it is happy for the people,

people, when their interests and honour are not compromised, furnishes but few materials for history, and therefore is generally passed over with indifference. The court of James, however, produced various incidents which had a considerable effect on public opinion, if not on public happiness. About the end of 1609, Robert Carr, a youth of about twenty, and of a good family in Scotland, first appeared in the English court. The charms of his person and the elegance of his manners soon won the heart of James, and in no great length of time the favourite was successively knighted, created viscount Rochester, and honoured with the garter. In sir Thomas Overbury the minion met with a sincere friend and judicious counsellor, and while he followed his advice, he enjoyed the highest favour of his sovereign, without being detested by the people.

Intoxicated, however, by good fortune, Rochester gave way to the indulgence of every passion. The countess of Essex and daughter to the earl of Suffolk, though she rejected the embraces of her husband, soon surrendered her person to the favourite; and, in spite of the remonstrances of Overbury, a divorce was procured, and a marriage solemnized between the adulterers. On this occasion the king forgot his own dignity so far as to enter into all the base passions of his minion, whom he created earl of Somerset. The countess, however, was not satisfied with the completion of her criminal wishes so far; she plotted the final destruction of Overbury, who had opposed her views, and who now lay in prison owing to the fraudulent representations of his former friend; and after practising

practising on him, by means of her diabolical agents, with weak doses of poison, at last such a strong one was administered to him, that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him.

The fatal catastrophe of sir Thomas Overbury, though the proofs of the crime were not brought to light till some years afterwards, begot a suspicion that the prince of Wales had been carried off by similar means, and the sovereign was not spared, amidst the just imputations thrown on his favourite.

A. D. 1614. A parliament being again called, after every means had been exhausted, of raising money by virtue of the prerogative, even to the sale of peerages, that assembly, instead of granting a supply, began with disputing the king's power to levy new customs and impositions. The king was provoked beyond all patience at this freedom, and dissolved them without obtaining the object of their convocation. The monarchical principles of James, however, were not abandoned. He publicly at court proposed the question, whether he might not take his subjects' money when he wanted, it without the formality of parliaments? "God forbid," replied the obsequious Neile bishop of Durham, "but that you should: for you are the very breath of our nostrils." Andrews, bishop of Winchester, being next applied to for his opinion, prudently waved the question by declaring that he was not skilled in parliamentary cases, but observed, "that his majesty might lawfully take his brother Neile's money, because he offered it."

The crimes of Somerset, though they had hitherto

therto escaped punishment, preyed on his spirits, and rendered him sullen and unamiable. The courtiers saw his declining interest from this cause, and seized the opportunity of throwing a new minion in the king's way, in the person of George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, who was immediately raised to the office of cup-bearer. Meanwhile, undoubted proofs of Somerset's guilt were brought to light in poisoning sir Thomas Overbury, and the natural sense of justice in James's breast regaining its ascendancy, a rigorous scrutiny was ordered to be made. The accomplices in the murder received the punishment due to their crime; but Somerset and the countess were pardoned; and after lying some years in prison, recovered their liberty and a small pension, with which they retired, and languished out their old age in infamy and obscurity, equally detesting each other and detested by the rest of the world.

Villiers now having no competitor, soon mounted to favour, and, by rapid advances, was at last made duke of Buckingham and lord high admiral of England, with many inferior though honourable appointments. In short, he totally eclipsed the splendour of the former minion, and became the only avenue to honour or promotion, or rather he concentrated them all in himself.

A. D. 1617.

In order to enlarge the episcopal authority in Scotland, James now determined to visit his native country; but the simple form of presbyterian government had taken such deep root there, that it was with extreme difficulty and reluctance they complied with any of the recommendations of their sovereign in regard to the ceremonials of their religion.

ligion. Nor did James shock more the religious principles of his Scottish than his English subjects. In order to counteract the gloomy spirit of the puritans, he issued a proclamation encouraging all lawful games and exercises on Sundays after divine service; and though this was a political measure, it was regarded as the extreme of profaneness and impiety.

A long imprisonment of thirteen years had not broken the enterprising spirit of sir Walter Raleigh, though it had softened the resentment of his enemies. Taking advantage of this favourable impression of the public, he made an attempt to recover his liberty, by spreading a report, that he knew of a rich gold mine in Guiana.

Though the king gave little credit to the tale, he released Raleigh from prison without pardoning him, and gave him permission to try the adventure.

Raleigh had declared that the Spaniards had never planted any colonies on the coast where his mine lay; but twenty-three years had elapsed since he last visited that region, and during that time, they had formed a small settlement on the river Oronooko, and built a town called St. Thomas.

Raleigh, however, was no sooner arrived than he sent a detachment, under the command of his son and of captain Kemys, an officer wholly devoted to him, who finding the Spaniards not unprepared, were fired upon at their landing. Irritated by this reception, young Raleigh pursued the enemy into the town, which was soon reduced to ashes; but a shot carrying him off in the career of victory, Kemys could not be pre-

vailed

vailed on to proceed, though he owned that he was within two hours march of the mine which promised such immense treasure. Returning to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his son's death, and despairing of the event, he retired to his cabin, and put an end to his life.

The other adventurers, thinking themselves duped by Raleigh, and dreading punishment for their hostile attack on the Spaniards, hastened to England, and carried their leader with them. Raleigh was pronounced by the privy council to have abused the king's confidence, and the court of Spain making loud demands for satisfaction, James, using that power which he had purposely reserved in his own hands, signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence.

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all the energies of his soul, and met the blow with resolution. As he felt the edge of the ax with which he was to be beheaded, "Tis a sharp remedy," said he, "but a sure one for all ills." His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and with the utmost indifference he laid his head upon the block and received the fatal blow.

The execution of this sentence, which had been so long suspended, gave general dissatisfaction; and it was rendered still more invidious by the intimate connections entered into with Spain. Gondomer, the ambassador from that country, in order to divert the attention of James from the affairs of Germany, had proposed an advantageous match between the second daughter of Spain, and Charles prince of Wales. The bait took; and though the states of Bohemia, inspired

inspired with the love of civil and religious independence had taken up arms against the emperor Ferdinand, and made Frederic elector palatine a tender of their crown, probably on account of his connection with England, James refused to lend his son-in-law any assistance, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of his people; and in consequence of his neglect, the unhappy prince was not only obliged to resign his new dignity, but was driven from the palatinate, and forced to fly with his family into Holland.

A. D. 1620. The murmurs against the king's inactive disposition now ran high; but James flattered himself that the restitution of the palatinate might be procured from friendship, by means of his son's proposed marriage, and therefore was averse to strong measures.

At this time the great seal was in the hands of Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, a man universally admired for the sublimity of his genius, but who had made himself obnoxious to censure by the easiness of his disposition, and the irregular means he had used to obtain money, less indeed on his own account than to gratify his dependents, whose importunities he could not resist. Being impeached by the commons, the peers sentenced him to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned in the tower, and to be for ever incapable of holding any office, place, or employment.

Bacon, however, was soon released from prison, his fine was remitted, and, in consideration of his intrinsic worth, received a pension of eighteen hundred pounds a year. The short

remainder

remainder of his life was spent in literary avocations; and in the greatness of his talents posterity have almost forgot that he had the weaknesses and the failings of a man.

Meanwhile, the commons, indignant at the pusillanimity of James in suffering his son-in-law to languish in poverty and exile, and averse to a match with a catholic family, strongly remonstrated with their sovereign. The king, jealous of his prerogative, gave a prompt and sharp reply in terms very inimical to the privileges of parliament; and this drew from the commons a declaration, "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England." This entry the king himself tore from the journals, and after committing some of the leading members in opposition to the tower, finally dissolved the parliament. Pretension being thus opposed to pretension, every circumstance tended to widen the breach between the king and parliament; and the flame, though sometimes smothered, was not extinguished but with the overthrow of the monarchy under the unfortunate Charles I.

James, by reiterated proclamations, had prohibited the discussion of state affairs; but, as might naturally be expected, public curiosity was only inflamed the more. With domestic politics those of the continent were intermingled. Frederic had made vigorous efforts for the recovery of his dominions, but without any very considerable advantage; and James now persuaded him to disarm, and to trust to the effects of his negotiations. A. D. 1622.

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These, however, not being reinforced by even the appearance of appealing to the decision of arms, only exposed him to ridicule both at home and abroad. He was depicted with a scabbard but without a sword, and sometimes with a sword which no one could draw though several were pulling at it. In short. the pacific disposition of James, instead of gaining him respect, only rendered him the object of contempt. He was fond of employing ambassadors; but crowned heads are seldom to be awed by diplomatic weapons, which were the only ones the king of England employed.

In order to hasten the match between the princess of Spain and his heir apparent, he dispatched the earl of Bristol to Philip IV. and matters were apparently in a fair train of settlement, when every flattering prospect was blasted by the temerity of Buckingham.

Between this favourite and prince Charles a coolness had taken place, which the former being anxious to remove, proposed a journey of courtship to Madrid. The young and ardent mind of the prince eagerly embraced the scheme; and the king being prevailed on to give his consent, though not without some reluctance and apprehension of the result, the prince, attended by Buckingham and some others, set out on this romantic expedition.

At a court ball at Paris, Charles first saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused; but so much speed did they use, that in eleven days after their departure from London they arrived at Madrid, to the surprise of every one.

The Spanish monarch treated Charles with the

the most flattering attentions; but, according to the established etiquette, the infanta was only shewn to her lover in public, till a dispensation should arrive from Rome. Just as this was granted, Gregory XV. died; and the nuncio refusing to deliver it, till it should be renewed by Urban VIII. who was elected to the tiara, that crafty pontiff interposed various delays, in hopes that Charles might be converted to the catholic faith. The king of England, as well as the prince, became impatient; and the latter, probably feeling no very great inclination to the princess, took his leave, and embarking on board the English fleet at St. Andero, returned to England. Every thing, however, was conducted at parting with the most marked and elaborate respect on both sides; and, had it not been for the intrigues of Buckingham, who had rendered himself both despised and hated by the Spaniards, and therefore felt reciprocal ill-will and animosity, it seems probable, the negotiations entered into might have been brought to a favourable conclusion.

James reluctantly entered into the views of his son and the favourite, as they ran counter to a plan which he had long fondly indulged; but he was over-ruled by his affection for the one, and his partiality for the other; and after the court of Spain had promised the restoration of the palatinate, and made other concessions without effect, Philip ordered the infanta to lay aside the title of princess of Wales, which she had assumed after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and the long protracted negotiation came to an end.

A. D. 1624. The king having thus involuntarily broken with Spain, was obliged to summon a parliament, in order to obtain supplies. In that assembly, Buckingham threw all the blame on the court of Spain, and the nation, eager to commence hostilities with the papists, listened to his insidious arguments, and loaded him with applause. The supply was, however, voted with a parsimonious hand, and to what was granted, some conditions were annexed, which trenched on the prerogative, but conducted at last to legitimate liberty.

James, sensible that his favourite measures had been defeated by the artifices and the violence of Buckingham, began to estrange himself from that minion; but his domineering spirit soon regained him the ascendancy over a timid master; and when the earl of Bristol, whom he both hated and feared, was recalled from Spain, he had influence enough to procure him to be sent to the tower, and afterwards banished to his country seat.

Soon after this, a treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and Henrietta of France being proposed, James entered into the negotiation with so much ardour, that it was soon brought to a favourable conclusion; but

A. D. 1625. the king was much less fortunate in the enterprises of war, which his soul abhorred. The English nation, however, were bent on the recovery of the palatinate, and to accomplish this object, twelve thousand foot and two hundred horse were embarked under count Mansfeldt; but so ill had this expedition been concerted, that before the men were permitted to land, half of them were cut off by a pestilen-

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tial disorder, and the other half were too weak to attempt the object of their destination.

James, who had zealously cultivated the arts of peace, did not long survive the commencement of hostilities. Being seized with a tertian ague, and finding himself gradually becoming weaker, he sent for the prince, whom he affectionately exhorted to bear a tender regard for his wife, but to preserve a constancy in his own religion, to protect the church, and to extend his care to the unhappy family of the palatine; and having settled his other affairs, timid as he had been through life, he met death with the fortitude of a christian and a hero. So composed was he, that he closed his own eyes in the last struggle, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after a reign over England of twenty-two years and some days.

In the annals of nations, it is scarcely possible to find a reign, more unspotted and unblemished than that of James; but it contained nothing that could render it illustrious in history, and therefore it has been mentioned with obloquy and contempt. But if a king is only the father of a larger family, and is equally bound with a natural parent, to watch over the walfare and safety of those committed to his care, James will deserve the highest panegyric, where unreflecting prejudice has assailed him the most. Yet it must be owned, that though James possessed many virtues, scarcely one of them was free from the contagion of some neighbouring vice. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his love of peace on pusillanimity, and his wisdom on cunning. He ruled over a people who delighted in war, from which

which they had seldom been long exempted before his time, and who valued blood and treasure, less than the splendour of battles and conquests.

Great riches acquired by commerce, were at this period rare; and high pride of family prevailed. Civil honours, which now hold the first place, were then subordinate to the military, and a romantic turn for chivalry, still shewed itself in furious and sanguinary duels.

The country life, which still prevails in England to a certain degree, was just beginning, in the reign of James, to give way to a fondness for the seducements of the city. The king wisely and benevolently set himself against this alteration of manners. "He was wont to be very earnest," says lord Bacon, "with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country seats; and would sometimes tell them. "Gentlemen, at London you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages, you are like ships in a river, which shew like great things."

The ordinary revenuè in this reign, did not amount to half a million, nor the king's expenditure to more than thirty-six thousand pounds. All the extraordinary sums, which he raised by subsidies, loans, sale of lands, and of titles of baronetage, did not amount to two millions and two hundred thousand pounds.

Corn at this time, and the other necessaries of life, were higher in proportion than the present average: wheat was thirty-six shillings a quarter, rye eighteen, and barley sixteen. The usual bread of the poor was made of barley. It appears also that fourpence a pound was the usual

usual price for beef and mutton, and that the general turn of the age, was to convert arable land into pasture, which no laws could prevent.

London at this time was entirely built of wood, and far from being elegant. The earl of Arundel first introduced the general practice of building with bricks.

The public had neither the danger, nor the expence of a standing army to fear. The militia, amounting to one hundred and sixty thousand men, was the sole defence of the kingdom.

The navy of England was esteemed formidable in Elizabeth's reign; yet it received several additions from James. A ship of one thousand four hundred tons, and carrying sixty-four guns, the largest that had ever come from an English dock, was launched in this reign.

But what renders this æra more memorable, was the incipient organization of some parts of the continent of America. The island of Barbadoes was also planted in this reign.

Shakespeare, the immortal glory of his country, reflected a lustre on the times of James, as did Johnson, Fairfax, Raleigh, and Bacon. The latter pointed out the road to true philosophy, and made considerable advances in it himself.

CHAP. XIV.

The Reign of Charles I.

CHARLES mounted the throne in the flower of his age, and having espoused Henrietta by proxy, no sooner was

A. D. 1625.

was their marriage celebrated in England, than he hastened to call a parliament, whom he addressed in the language of simplicity and cordiality.

The commons, however, though aware of the expences of government, and though the war had been undertaken with their perfect concurrence, were very sparing in their grants; and puritanical zeal was soon inflamed against the catholics; whose expectations were raised by the favour they expected to find with the queen. Concessions in favour of liberty, were tacked to the very moderate supplies they were induced to allow; and Charles, who had been educated in high notions of prerogative, and full of the generous feelings of youth, could ill brook any encroachments on his power, or any want of attention to his reasonable demands.

He frankly explained the nature of the engagements into which he had entered, and the sums that would be necessary to discharge them, particularly in regard to the operations of the war: but the commons were still inexorable; and a new discovery tended still more to increase them against Buckingham. When James courted the alliance of France, he had stipulated to lend Lewis eight ships, which were to be employed against the Genoese, the allies of Spain; but when the vessels arrived at Dieppe, a suspicion arose that they were intended to serve against the Hugonots of Rochelle. On this, the sailors broke out into a furious mutiny, and Pennington, the admiral, swore he would sooner be hanged in England, for disobedience, than fight against his brother protestants in France. Accordingly, the squadron immediately

ately returned to the Downs, when they received new orders from Buckingham, lord admiral, to return to their former station, to which they were principally induced, by a report which he caused to be spread, that the French king and his hugonot subjects had come to terms of accommodation. Finding themselves, however, deceived, they again returned to England, nor could the most magnificent offers prevail on them to engage in a cause, which they thought contrary to their religious duty.

These transactions increased the outcry against popery in parliament. To this Charles gave a gracious and compliant answer; but when he found no further supplies were to be obtained, he used the pretence of the plague to dissolve the assembly.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles was driven to the desperate and unconstitutional course of issuing privy seals, for borrowing money of his subjects. With the sum thus procured, he fitted out a fleet of eighty vessels, carrying ten thousand men, which sailed to Cadiz, under the command of sir Edward Cecil, created lord Wimbleton. The bay was full of Spanish ships of great value; but owing to some misconduct, and the plague breaking out in the English fleet, the expedition failed in every respect.

A. D. 1626.

Charles was again obliged to have recourse to a parliament, and, though he had taken care that some of the popular leaders should be excluded from the representation, by being elected sheriffs of their respective counties, the ferment of opposition still continued. Supplies indeed were voted; but the

the passing of that vote into a law, was reserved till the end of the session, in order to extort what concessions they wished from the king's necessities.

Charles was obliged to submit to this, and to stifle his resentment; but Buckingham becoming every day more unpopular, and his enemy the earl of Bristol having joined the patriotic party, the commons determined to impeach him.

Meanwhile, the lord keeper, in the king's name, expressly commanded the house not to meddle with Buckingham, and two members who had been most forward in this business were committed to prison. The commons were instantly in a flame; and by being obliged to release the imprisoned members, the king lost much consequence, and drove the parliament on still more daring measures. They claimed the execution of the laws against catholics; and they were framing a remonstrance against the levying tonnage and poundage without their consent, when Charles, with intemperate ardour, ended the session by a dissolution; and they parted with mutual ill humour.

The king had menaced the commons, that unless they furnished him with supplies, he should be obliged to have recourse to new counsels. These were now adopted; a commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics for dispensing with the penal laws against them; a loan was required, both from the nobility and the city; and the counties, as well as the capital, were compelled to equip a certain number of ships. This is the first appearance in Charles's reign of ship-money, a mode of taxation, which afterwards produced such violent discontents.

Though these irregular expedients would have given disgust in more tranquil times, Charles gradually pushed them on with increased rigour, and at last, under the name of a general loan, levied a sum equal to four subsidies. Several who refused to pay this illegal demand, were thrown into prison. Of these, sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Heveningham, and sir Edmund Hampden, had spirit enough, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberties, and to demand releasement, not as a favour, but as a matter of right.

The question was solemnly argued before the court of king's bench; but though the chief justice Crew was changed, and sir Nicholas Hyde substituted in his place, as being more pliant and obsequious to an arbitrary government, the judges went no farther than to refuse the bail which was offered, and to remand the gentlemen to prison. In fact, the nation was already exasperated to a very high degree, by a variety of real grievances; and except a few courtiers and ecclesiastics, all men were dissatisfied with the measures of administration, and predicted the final subversion of constitutional liberty.

Amidst this universal discontent, however, it was, that Charles, though baffled in every attempt against Austria, embroiled himself with France, to which rash action he was supposed to be driven by the rash and violent Buckingham.

When Charles married by proxy the princess Henrietta, this minister and minion had been sent to France, to grace the espousals. The beauty of his person, and the elegance of his manners, were suited to make an impression on female

female hearts, and it is said, his ambition led him to commence a correspondence with the queen of Louis. The vigilance of Richelieu soon discovered this; and when the duke was making preparations for a new embassy to Paris, a message was sent to inform him that his presence would not be agreeable. In a romantic fit of passion, he swore, "that he would see the queen in spite of all the power of France;" and from that moment, he took every possible opportunity of commencing hostilities with that kingdom.

Inferior insults being overlooked or compromised, he was determined to break at once, and to join Soubise and Rohan, who were at the head of the hugonot faction, and who strongly solicited the assistance of Charles. Accordingly a fleet of an hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men, were entrusted to the command of Buckingham; but the inhabitants of Rochelle refusing to admit allies, of whose arrival they had received no previous information, the duke made an injudicious attempt on the isle of Rhé, in which he lost a vast number of men, and was finally obliged to return to England, with no other credit except the vulgar one of courage and personal bravery.

A. D. 1628. The event of this ill-concerted enterprise, assisted to mature the discontents of the English; and whatever they already suffered or predicted in future, they were inclined to ascribe wholly to the evil councils of Buckingham.

In this national ferment, however, it was resolved to call a parliament, from the necessity of obtaining a supply; but it was soon found, that

that the new members were equally independent with their predecessors, and that the resentment for past injuries, was neither weakened nor forgotten. The court party did not pretend to justify the means which had been resorted to, in order to procure money, except on the ground of necessity; and a vote was passed without opposition, against arbitrary imprisonments and forced loans. In return for this concession, a supply of five subsidies was voted with apparent good will; and with this mark of the affection of his parliament, the king was so well pleased, that the tear of gratitude started in his eye when he heard of its liberality.

But though voted, the supply was not immediately passed into a law; and the commons were resolved to employ the interval, in providing some barriers to their rights and liberties, so lately violated. They enumerated the various encroachments that had been made on their constitutional liberties, under the name of a "petition of right," and against these, an eternal remedy was to be provided. The terms in which this petition was drawn up, seem to have been just and reasonable, but they infringed the prerogative, in regard to which Charles was such a stickler; and it was not without much difficulty and many evasions, that the royal assent could be obtained to this intended security against future invasions of liberty.

In the meanwhile, one doctor Mainwaring, who was afterwards raised to the see of St. Asaph, having preached and published a sermon subversive of all civil liberty, the commons impeached him for this, and the peers sentenced him to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the

 house,

house, to be fined a thousand pounds, to be suspended for three years, and that his book should be called in and burnt. The king, however, speedily pardoned him, and by this action, shewed the insincerity of his concessions.

Indeed, had Charles been perfectly sincere in sanctioning the petition of right, it was evident the commons would have been still dissatisfied. They continued to carry their scrutiny into every part of government; and among other things not touched before, they attacked tonnage and poundage, the levying of which, without the consent of parliament, they declared to be a palpable violation of the ancient rights of the people.

Charles perceiving that there was no end to demands, and that one concession only furnished them with confidence to ask another, suddenly put an end to the session by a prorogation.

Freed from the vexation of this assembly, the king began to look towards foreign wats. An armament had been prepared for the relief of Rochelle, and Buckingham had repaired to Portsmouth, to hasten the preparations. While thus employed, an enthusiast, named Thomas Felton, who had once served under the duke, and had met with some disappointment in his hopes of promotion, inflamed with private resentment, and taught by the public voice, to consider Buckingham as the cause of all the national grievances, formed the desperate resolution of dispatching him.

Accordingly as the duke, in a narrow passage, was engaged in conversation with colonel sir Thomas Fryar, he was on a sudden struck in the breast with a knife, which he pulled out, saying,

saying, "the villain has killed me," and with these words, breathed his last.

No one had seen the blow, nor the person who inflicted it; but a hat being found near the door, with some lines from a remonstrance of the commons, in which Buckingham was declared an enemy of the kingdom, no doubt was entertained, but that it belonged to the assassin. Presently a person was seen walking very composedly without a hat, and some one crying out, "here is the fellow who killed the duke," every body ran to ask, "which is he?" on which Felton sedately answered, "I am he." The more furious were for dispatching him immediately, and he bared his breast to meet their swords; but others, more deliberate, defended and protected him, by which means he lived to suffer the punishment of the law. When questioned at whose instigation he had committed the horrid deed, he replied, that no man living had credit to have disposed him to such an action, and believing that he should perish in the attempt, he had explained his motives in his hat.

Charles received the intelligence of his favourite's melancholy fate with an unmoved countenance, but it was evident that he felt it severely. The expedition to relieve Rochelle was now feebly conducted, and the inhabitants, reduced to the extremities of famine, were obliged to surrender at discretion.

In the next session, though for more than a century tonnage and poundage had been considered as a royal right without the sanction of parliament, Charles, now freed from the violent counsels of Buckingham, declared that he had hitherto levied them out of necessity, and not by any

any right he assumed. This conciliating declaration gave a temporary satisfaction, but the commons were not to be pleased, and as soon as they had carried one point, they immediately found another to contend for. They next directed their attention to religion, and declared violently against the followers of Arminius, some of whom, by the indulgence of James and Charles, had attained the highest preferments in the hierarchy. Among these, Laud, Neile, Montague, and others, who were the chief supporters of episcopacy, were also supposed to be strongly inclined to the arminian faith. The puritans regarded these men with more than ordinary jealousy, as well on account of their political as their religious principles; and Charles was no less attached to them, wisely considering that the hierarchy was the most solid basis of his own authority.

While matters were in this state, the commons recurred to the duties of tonnage and poundage, which could only be relinquished for some equivalent, which in fact was never offered; and when the question was about to be put on this subject, sir John Finch, the speaker, rose and declared, "that he had it in command from the king to adjourn." The whole house was in an uproar; and the speaker was forcibly held in his chair by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation. By this, papists and arminians were declared capital enemies to the commonwealth; and those who levied, and even those who paid tonnage and poundage, were branded with the same epithet. The mace was now taken from the table by the king's order, and, a few days after,

after, the parliament was dissolved. Immediately after, sir Miles Hobart, sir Peter Hayman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Strode, were committed to prison on a charge of sedition, on account of the last tumult in the house, and lay several days in confinement. Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were condemned, for their seditious speeches and behaviour in parliament, to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and to pay heavy fines. These gloried in their sufferings, and Elliot, happening to die before he was liberated from prison, was regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England.

Peace now became absolutely necessary to Charles, from the want of a regular supply, and both France and Spain entering into the same views, the terms were soon adjusted. Nothing was obtained in favour of the palatine, except a general promise from the Spanish court, to use its good offices for his restoration. During the remainder of Charles's reign, he seems to have paid little regard to foreign politics, except as far as he was engaged by honour and friendship, to support the cause of his sister and her husband. A. D. 1630.

After the death of Buckingham, the queen may be considered as the principal friend and favourite of Charles. By her sense, her spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the partiality of her husband: but being extremely attached to her religion, she unfortunately increased the jealousy which had long prevailed against the catholics and the court.

Charles had endeavoured to gain the popular leaders, by conferring offices upon them; but such was the spirit of the times, that the moment

ment they became courtiers, they lost all influence with their party. This was particularly the case with sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the king had raised to the title of earl of Strafford, made him president of the council of York, and deputy of Ireland. In a word, he was regarded as chief minister and counsellor, and by his eminent abilities and unshaken fidelity, he merited all the confidence which his master reposed in him; but in proportion as he became honoured at court, he was detested by the puritans. In all ecclesiastical affairs, Laud, bishop of London, had the greatest influence over the king. He was a man of principle, but wanted those agreeable manners, and that flexibility of character, which are calculated to open a way hrough difficulties and oppositions. His whole study was to exalt the dignity of the priesthood, and this he weakly thought was best effected by a starch formality, and a tenacious adherence to the external ceremonies of religion. By these means, he became suspected of favouring popery; and certain it is, that in Laud the most arbitrary measure of Charles always found, not only an apologist, but a supporter.

The king being now emancipated from the control of parliaments, which, it was evident, he intended to reign without, had recourse to his usual unconstitutional expedients of raising money by virtue of his prerogative, in every possible way, contrary not only to the rights of his people, but in many instances also, in direct opposition to their general feelings and prejudices. The severities of the star-chamber and high commission court were revived, with all their force and malignity, and extended their jurisdiction

diction in every direction. Prynne, a barrister, having written a book, entitled, Histro-Mastyx, in which he not only censured stage-plays, music, and dancing, but also hunting, public festivals, and christmas keeping, he was indicted as a libeller in the star-chamber, because the king and queen frequented the former amusements, and was there sentenced to lose both his ears, to stand in the pillory, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during life. This man was a champion among the puritans, and it probably was with a narrow and illiberal policy, that he was thus condemned to such a severe and ignominious punishment.

About the same time, Charles made a journey to Scotland; and on his return, the see of Canterbury being vacant, Laud was raised to the primacy, and Juxon to the mitre of London. A. D. 1633.

Ship-money was now levied by virtue of the prerogative; and though the whole tax amounted to little more than two hundred thousand pounds, and was equally assessed and honestly applied to the purposes of the navy, yet as it was wholly arbitrary, the discontents it excited, and the irregular means by which it was enforced, produced the most important consequences. A. D. 1634.

The good effects of a navy, however, soon became apparent. The Dutch being attacked in their fisheries, consented to pay thirty thousand pounds for a license for one year; and the English commerce was protected and restored by a squadron sent against Sallee, which destroyed that nest of pirates. But nothing could, in the eyes of the popular party, compensate for the infringe-

infringement of liberty; and Charles was equally exposed to odium for what he did, and for what he neglected to do.

The puritans suffered another affront, in the persons of Berton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, who for seditious and schismatic libels were condemned to the same punishment as Prynne. Finding the rigours of the star-chamber increased since the promotion of Laud, the leaders of that turbulent sect wished to ship themselves off for America, as many of their adherents had done before; but the council dreading the consequences of a disaffected colony, a proclamation was issued to prevent the sailing of more, and thus sir Arthur Haselrig, John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, were obliged to disembark, after they were on the point of sailing.

It would be tedious to enumerate the indignities and injuries to which the puritans were exposed, and to enter into a detail of the various breaches which were systematically made on the constitution. Murmurs were general and just, but few had the resolution to defend, in their own persons, what was the public right of all. Yet John Hampden, who had been detained in England against his will, soon after had the spirit to resist the levying of ship-money, though the sum in which he was rated did not exceed twenty shillings. The cause was argued, during twelve days, in the exchequer chamber, before all the judges of England; and the attention of the whole nation was as much attracted to this famous trial, as if the lives and liberties of every individual had depended on its issue. The event could not be doubtful; yet four of the judges

judges had the firmness and integrity to resist the arbitrary maxims of the bench, and Hampden, though he lost his cause, seemed to open the eyes of his countrymen to the means by which tyranny was to be resisted.

Affairs, however, might probably have gone on for some years longer in England, had not Charles, by attempting to introduce episcopacy into Scotland, roused the indignation of that people, who were warmly attached to the principles of their church government, and thrown both kindgoms into a flame.

A. D. 1638.

Against the combination of the Scots, who were contending for what they considered as dearer to them than life, Charles had nothing to oppose but a proclamation. This was instantly encountered by a protestation; and insurrection, which had been advancing by a slow and gradual progress, now blazed up at once. No disorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. The whole power of that kingdom was placed by the public voice in four *tables*, as they were called; composed of almost every individual of property in the kingdom, and one of the first acts of their government, was the production of the COVENANT.

This covenant consisted, first of a renunciation of popery, signed by James in his youth, and was followed by a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatever. People of every rank and condition hastened to sign this compact, and so general was the contagion, that it seized the very ministers of the crown.

Charles

Charles began to be alarmed, and would have retracted much, but it was with reluctance he saw the whole fabric, which had been so sedulously reared by his father and himself, in danger of falling at once to the ground. The covenanters, on their part, saw it would be necessary to maintain their religious tenets by force of arms; and the Dutch and French, who sought occasion for revenge, on account of former misunderstandings, secretly fomented the commotions in Scotland, and supplied the means of resistance.

The malcontents, however, found their principal resource in their own vigour and abilities. The earl of Argyle became the chief leader of the party; and Leslie, a soldier of experience and merit, was entrusted with the command of their forces.

Charles's aversion to sanguinary measures was overcome by his love for the hierarchy. He equipped a fleet, and levied a considerable army, which he joined himself at Berwick; but finding that his troops possessed little zeal for the cause in which they were engaged, and that the Scots were fighting for their dearest rights, he suddenly concluded a peace, by which it was stipulated, that both sides should disarm, that the king's authority should be acknowledged, and that a general assembly and a parliament should immediately be assembled, in order to compose all existing differences.

The assembly voted episcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: Charles was only willing to allow it to be contrary to the constitution of that church. They stigmatized the canons and liturgy as popish: he agreed simply to

to abolish them. They denominated the high commission, tyranny: he was content to set it aside.

The parliament too, which sat after the assembly, advancing pretensions which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch, and proceeding to ratify the acts of the assembly, were by Charles's order prorogued. And thus the war was renewed, on account of claims which might have been foreseen, and therefore ought to have been primarily opposed, or after the pacification assented to.

A. D. 1640.

The covenanters, when they had disbanded their troops, had cautiously warned them to be ready at a moment's notice; and the religious zeal with which they were inspired, made them fly to their standard with the rapidity of lightning; but the king drew his forces together with difficulty, and soon found that he had not the means of supporting them. A parliament, therefore, after an intermission of eleven years, was of necessity called; but it met under the most unfortunate events, when the affections of the people of one country were wholly alienated, and two-thirds of the other in a similar state of estrangement.

The leaders of the popular party perceiving, from the necessities of the crown, that the time was now come to humble the royal authority, instead of noticing the king's application for a supply, immediately entered on the consideration of grievances. Charles, finding that ship-money in particular gave great offence, after declaring that the sums which had been levied from necessity, had been faithfully applied, went so far as to tender a total renunciation of that

that obnoxious claim by any law which the commons might think proper to frame. In return, he only asked a supply of twelve subsidies, about six hundred thousand pounds; and that payable in three years.

To the partisans of the court, who urged a prompt compliance with this reasonable demand, the popular leaders replied, that it was the ancient practice to give grievances the precedency of supply; and that by bargaining for the remission of an unconstitutional duty, they would only be ratifying the authority by which it had been levied.

Explanation only served to increase the ill humour of the assembly, and it was urged, that a supply of twelve subsidies was a larger sum than could be found in all England. Such was the happy ignorance and inexperience of those times, in regard to taxation!

Charles, clearly seeing that the same principles which had already given him so much uneasiness, still agitated the parliament; and being informed that a vote was about to pass, which would blast his revenue of ship-money, without allowing any compensation in return, came to the hasty resolution of dissolving the assembly, a measure of which he soon after heartily repented, and for which he was severely condemned.

The convocation, however, still continued to sit, which, besides granting a supply from the spirituality, and framing many new canons, proceeded to frame an oath, which was to be imposed on the clergy, and the graduates of the universities, to support the established government of the church. This was deemed illegal, because

because not sanctioned by parliament; but an oath, with an *et cætera* in the midst of it, exposed the convocation to ridicule also; and it was with great difficulty that Laud could be saved from public violence.

The king, frustrated in his hopes of obtaining a legitimate supply, was obliged to have recourse again to his usual expedients, and new means were devised of raising money, without the least regard to the legality of its demand.

With some difficulty Charles collected sufficient means for putting an army of nineteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse in motion, under the earls of Northumberland and Strafford, and lord Conway. The Scots army, which was somewhat superior, had already taken the field, and entered England, as was pretended, with no other view than to obtain access to the king's presence, and to lay their grievances at his feet. At Newburn upon Tyne, a detachment of the English, under Conway, seemed to dispute the passage of that river. The Scots at first civilly entreated them not to stop them in their march to their gracious sovereign; but this appeal being disregarded, they attacked with great resolution, and having killed several, such a panic seized the remainder, that they did not think themselves safe, till they had reached Yorkshire.

The Scots possessed themselves of Newcastle; and, in order top revent their advancing upon him, the king agreed to a treaty, and named sixteen English commissioners, who were all popular men, to meet eleven Scots commissioners, at Rippon.

Meanwhile a petition had arrived from the

city of London, requesting the king would call a parliament; and Charles, finding it impossible to stem the torrent, in despair gave way to it, and made a merit of declaring that it was his wish to meet the representatives of his people. The negotiation with the Scots being protracted, it was proposed, likewise, to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London, a measure which was readily embraced by the commissioners of that nation, because they foresaw, that they should have more friends, and the king more enemies, in the metropolis.

A. D. 1640. The causes of disgust which, for more than thirty years, had been multiplying in England, were now arrived at full maturity. The commons immediately entered on business by impeaching Strafford, who had incurred the resentment of the three kingdoms, by different services rendered to his master. Pym opened the business, and Falkland alone, though the personal enemy of Strafford, conjured the house not to act with precipitation. The impeachment, however, was voted, and Pym was chosen to carry it up to the house of lords. Strafford was just about to take his seat, when he was informed of this prosecution; but was immediately ordered into custody, and the behaviour of his judges, as well as of his prosecutors, argued very unfavourably for him, even at the outset.

An impeachment for high treason was also preferred against Laud, who was committed to custody; and the same charge was exhibited against lord keeper Finch, and secretary Windebank; but these ministers, conscious of their danger, escaped to the continent.

In

In short, the agents in every obnoxious measure were called upon to answer for their conduct; even the judges who had given their vote against Hampden, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find surety for their appearance.

Thus, in a short time, the whole sovereign power was transferred to the commons; and this was the time, as is usual in all great revolutions, for genius and talents to display themselves. Pym, Hampden, St. John, Hollis, and Vane, shone out with peculiar lustre, according to their various endowments; and even men of more moderate talents, and of different principles, caught a degree of enthusiasm from the novelty of the situation in which they were placed.

The harangues of the members, now first published, kept alive the discontents against the king's administration. The pulpits re-echoed the voice of the puritans in parliament; and Prynne, Bastwick, and Beriton, again turned loose on the public, increased the general ferment.

For some time, Charles remained a passive spectator of these violent proceedings. In a speech to parliament, however, he observed, "you have taken the whole machine of government to pieces, a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clean the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine," continued he, "may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire, so as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was not the object of parliament: like all violent reformers, they pulled down without knowing how to replace.

 Besides

Besides overawing their opponents, the commons judged it requisite to court the interest of the Scots. A subsistence of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day was voted them, and St. Antholine's church was allotted for their devotions, where their chaplains began to practise the presbyterian form of worship, to which the puritanical party in England was sufficiently inclined.

This opened the way for attacking the clergy of the establishment; a bill passed, prohibiting them from holding any civil office, and of course depriving the bishops of a seat among the peers, which the upper house rejected; but the puritans, far from being discouraged by this opposition, immediately brought in a bill for the total abolition of episcopacy, though they did not press it through the house, but suffered it to sleep till a more favourable opportunity.

They proceeded next to order the demolition of all images, altars and crucifixes, and in their abhorrence against the latter, some of the most zealous would scarcely suffer one piece of wood or stone to be laid over another at right angles. All the decent ceremonies of religious worship, and the becoming vestments of its ministers, were considered as savouring of popery; and the professors of that religion in particular were treated with the utmost harshness and indignity, from which the queen mother, who had found it necessary to retire to England, and even the queen herself, were not exempt.

Charles, convinced by experience of the ill effects of his former measures, now endeavoured to regain the confidence of his people by concessions. He passed a bill, by which the right of granting

granting tonnage and poundage was for ever vested in the commons: he agreed to a law for triennial parliaments, clogged with such conditions, that the legitimate power of a king was reduced almost to a shadow.

In order to gratify the public still more, an entire change of ministers, as well as of measures, took place; and several of the most popular noblemen were admitted privy counsellors. St. John also was intended to be made solicitor general, Hollis, secretary of state, and Pym, chancellor of the exchequer, the earl of Essex, governor, and Hampden, tutor to the Prince of Wales.

The execution, however, of these plans was retarded by the very persons whom he meant to honour. They were unwilling to undergo the reproach of having sacrificed the cause of the nation to personal aggrandizement, and therefore the business came to an end.

At this time, it appears, Charles would have made any concessions to save the life of Strafford, or even to prevent his being brought to trial; but nothing could avail. In carrying on this prosecution, the three kingdoms seemed in a manner unanimous, and the solemnity of the preparations sufficiently indicated, that a deep tragedy was about to be performed.

Twenty-eight articles were exhibited against this unfortunate nobleman; but though four months had been employed by the managers of the trial in preparing all the accusations, and Strafford's answers were extemporaneous, it appears from comparison, that he was not only guiltless of treason, but free from censure, if we make allowance for those human

A. D. 1641.

human infirmities and errors, from which the best are not exempt.

The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days, during which Strafford conducted himself with a degree of firmness, moderation, and wisdom, that extorted admiration from his most bitter enemies; but the commons were determined to convict him, and therefore, on the most incompetent evidence, or rather contrary to legal evidence, they brought him in guilty, with only fifty-nine dissenting voices.

The assent of the king and the lords, however, was still necessary; and it was doubtful, whether this difficulty could have been overcome, had not a new discovery thrown every thing into flame and combustion.

Goring, and some other officers, who had been disgusted with the domineering influence of parliament, had concerted a plan for attaching the military to the king's party, and the draught of this scheme being communicated to his majesty, was imprudently countersigned by himself, as a mark of approbation, and returned. The project, however, was laid aside; but Goring, with double treachery, betrayed the secret to the popular leaders. The alarm may easily be conceived which this intelligence conveyed, and the most absurd rumours of new conspiracies were daily propagated, in consequence.

The populace, by these means, were worked up to a degree of frenzy, and flocking round Whitehall, where the king resided, accompanied their demands of justice against Strafford with open menaces. Out of fifty-five peers, who were present when the bill of attainder was carried

carried to the upper house, nineteen had the courage to vote against it; but the queen, the ministers, and a majority of the peers, being terrified at the tumults which were excited, advised Charles to satisfy the people, by giving his assent. Juxon alone had the fortitude, in the cabinet, to counsel the king not to act contrary to his conscience.

Strafford hearing of the king's irresolution and anxiety, wrote to his master, and with a magnanimity almost unparalleled, entreated him for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent life, and to quiet the tumultuous populace, by granting the request for which they were so importunate. "In this," added he, "my consent will more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury."

After all, Charles underwent the most agonizing conflicts, but at last signified his assent to the bill by commission, and at the same time sanctioned a bill, still more fatal to his interest, by which the parliament could neither be adjourned nor dissolved without their own consent.

Secretary Carleton being sent to inform Strafford of the final result, the unhappy earl at first appeared surprised; but soon collecting his native courage, he prepared for the fatal event, which was to take place within three days. This interval the king employed in trying to obtain a mitigation of his sentence, or even a delay in its execution, but all in vain.

Strafford, in passing from his apartment to Tower-hill, where the scaffold was erected, stopped under Laud's window, and begged his prayers. The aged primate, dissolved in tears, pronounced

pronounced a blessing on his departing friend, and then sunk back into the arms of his attendants. The conscious victim of popular fury, however, superior to his fate, passed on with an air of dignity, and an elated conntenance; nor could the unfeeling exultation of his misguided enemies, nor the terrors of death, daunt the fortitude of his soul. His harangue on the scaffold was replete with courage and christian hope, and at one blow he was launched into eternity.

Thus perished, in the forty-ninth year of his age, the most faithful of the adherents of Charles; but so far was his death from producing that calm, to which it was intended to be a sacrifice; that the commons renewed their claims, and extorted an abolition of every court and authority, which in any respect militated against their views.

During this busy period, the princess Mary had been espoused to William, prince of Orange, with the approbation of parliament; but neither attention nor concession could allay the jealousy and ferment, which Charles's former unconstitutional acts had excited.

The king having resolved to visit Scotland, a small committee of both houses was nominated to attend him, and after that, the parliament adjourned.

Charles, despoiled in England of a considerable part of his authority, arrived in Scotland only to abdicate the small share which remained to him in that kingdom. The Scottish parliament, which formed but one house, were equally zealous for reform with their southern neighbours; and the king finding it useless to resist, gave his sanction to all their decrees, which, in a

great

great measure, reduced him to a cypher in the constitution.

But while Charles was engaged in conciliating the affections of the Scots, by the most liberal sacrifices of his legitimate power, intelligence was received of a rebellion in Ireland, accompanied with circumstances of the utmost horror and devastation.

During a peace of forty years, the inveterate quarrels between the native Irish and English settlers, seemed in a great measure obliterated; but after the death of Strafford, the commons of England, jealous of a standing army in that kingdom, entirely attached to Charles, insisted on its being disbanded.

Among other compliances, this was one which his majesty was obliged to make, contrary to his better judgment; for no sooner were the Irish freed from the dread of a military force, than their animosity to the English revived; and a conspiracy was formed for their total expulsion from that island.

A gentleman named Roger More, lord Maguire, sir Phelim O'Neale, and some others, were at the head of this design, and though the castle of Dublin was saved by the fidelity of O'Connolly, one of the conspirators, the insurrection became general, and an universal massacre of the English commenced, in which neither age, condition, nor sex was spared. The dearest ties were torn asunder, without pity and without remorse, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected.

Simple death, however, was a mercy from the Irish barbarians. All the tortures which wanton cruelty

cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body and anguish of mind, which malicious ingenuity could invent, were now put in practice; and some of the leaders, shocked at what they saw, strove, but in vain, to stem the torrent of brutality.

The saving of Dublin alone, preserved in Ireland the remains of the English name. The gates of that city, though timorously opened, received the wretched supplicants, and presented to the view, a scene of human misery, beyond what imagination could have formed. Diseases of unknown name and species, derived from their multiplied distresses, seized many, and put a period to their lives; others having now leisure to reflect on their severe loss of friends and fortune, cursed that being which they had preserved.

Amidst these accumulated difficulties, Charles was obliged to have recourse to a parliament, but that assembly was scarcely met, before it manifested the same spirit of opposition to regal power as had actuated the preceding ones.

An expression of the king's, by which he committed to the commons the care of Ireland, was eagerly laid hold of, and interpreted in the most unlimited sense. By assuming the total management of the war, they rendered Charles's power of no effect, and it was even roundly insinuated, that the pernicious councils by which he had been guided, had given rise to this popish rebellion.

To render the attack on royalty more systematic, a general remonstrance was framed by the commons, of the state of the nation, comprising every real or supposed grievance, from the accession

cession of Charles; and this was printed and published without seeking the concurrence of the house of peers.

This violent measure extremely agitated the sober and reflecting; and in order to parry the blow which was aimed against him, Charles published an answer to the remonstrance of the commons, in which he made the warmest protestations of his sincere attachment to the established religion, and expatiated with truth on the great concessions he had made in favour of civil liberty. The ears of the people, however, were prejudiced against him, and the commons resumed their encroachments without apprehension.

In short, every measure pursued by them shewed their determined resolution to subvert the whole fabric of civil and religious government. The majority of the peers indeed adhered to the king, and saw in his humiliation their own ruin; but some of them, led away by sinister motives or weak maxims of policy, went over to the party of the people, and thus paved the way for the overthrow of their order.

Meantime, the pulpits rang with the dangers which menaced religion, and the populace, crowding round the palace, threw out violent menaces against the king himself. Several gentlemen now offered their services to their sovereign, and between them and the rabble frequent skirmishes took place. By way of reproach, these gentlemen gave the mobility the title of *Roundheads*, which their opponents retorted by calling them *Cavaliers*. Thus the nation, already sufficiently divided, was supplied with party

party names, under which the factious might rendezvous and signalize their mutual hatred.

Williams, archbishop of York, havnig been abused by the populace, prevailed on his brethren to state, in an address to the king and the lords, that though they had an undoubted right to sit in parliament, they could no longer attend with safety, and therefore protested against all laws which should be made in their absence. This ill-timed protestation furnished an opportunity of joy and triumph to the commons. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against the bishops, as endeavouring to invalidate the authority of the legislature, and, in consequence, they were sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody.

A. D. 1642. Soon after, the king was betrayed into a very fatal act of indiscretion. Ascribing the increasing insolence of the commons to his too great facility, he was advised to make an example of some of the most violent among them. Accordingly, he sent Herbert, his attorney general, to enter an accusation of high treason against lord Kimbolton, and five commoners, Hollis, Haselrig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode, for having endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and to alienate the affections of the people. These men were immediately demanded of the house, but not being produced, Charles resolved next day to attend the house in person, to see his orders executed.

This design being divulged by a court lady, the members had time to withdraw before the king entered, who, leaving his retinue at the door,

door, advanced alone through the hall, and the speaker withdrawing, his majesty immediately took possession of the chair.

The king made a speech full of severity, and insisted on having the accused persons produced, whom, however, he declared it was his wish to proceed against in a fair and legal way.

Charles, without accomplishing his object, retired, amidst the cries of "privilege! privilege!" and the house instantly adjourned till next day.

The same evening, the accused members sought refuge among the citizens, who were all night under arms, as if they had expected the attack of an enemy. Charles, next morning, ordered the mayor to summon a court of common council, which he attended himself, and endeavoured to explain the grounds of his conduct, and to do away the unfavourable impressions which had been conceived in regard to it; but though he seemed to court popularity by every condescension, he received no plaudits; on the contrary, the cry of "privilege of parliament," resounded from all quarters.

Soon after, the accused members made a triumphant entry into the house, to resume their seats and functions, escorted by Skippon, whom the parliament had, by their own authority, appointed major general of the city militia; while the populace, now protected by a military force, used the most insulting language, as they passed the palace in procession.

Charles, apprehensive of personal danger, now removed to Hampton-Court, overwhelmed with shame, grief, and remorse. He was, by this time, deeply sensible of his imprudence, and would

would willingly have waved all thoughts of a prosecution; but the parliament would accept of no satisfaction.

Hitherto a majority of the lords had adhered to the king, but they now yielded to the torrent; and, having passed the pressing bill, and the bill against bishops voting in parliament, Charles was forced to give a reluctant assent to them. To this he was principally induced by his affection for the queen, who, being threatened with an impeachment, wished to withdraw to Holland, during the calm which this new compliance was likely to produce.

The parliament, however, so far from acquiescing in what they had obtained, proceeded with hasty strides to monopolize all the legislative and executive power; and the king seeing no end to their claims and pretensions, retired to York, attended by his two sons. Here he found a zeal and attachment to which he had been little accustomed of late; and offers hourly arrived from the principal persons in the kingdom, to support his constitutional rights with their lives and fortunes.

While both parties were thus preparing for action, the war of the pen, preceding that of the sword, daily sharpened the humours of the opposite parties. Here Charles had a double advantage. Falkland, who was now his secretary, with the purest virtue, possessed the richest gifts of nature; and, besides, the king's cause was at this period unquestionably the best, had men of sense and candour alone been to decide the dispute.

But keener weapons than manifestoes, remonstrances, and declarations, were now about to be

be employed. Hull containing a large magazine of arms, and it being suspected that sir John Hotham, the governor, was little affected to the cause of the parliament, the king presented himself before that place, in hopes of quietly obtaining possession of it. The governor, however, refused to receive the king and only twenty attendants. For this Charles proclaimed him a traitor, while parliament not only justified but applauded his conduct.

Both sides now levied troops with the utmost activity. The parliamentary army was given to the earl of Essex, and in London, no fewer than four thousand men enlisted in it in one day. The splendour of nobility, however, with which the king was surrounded, much eclipsed the appearance at Westminster, and as every peer brought some men with him, the rudiments of an army began to be formed.

After all, the parliament, anxious to throw the blame of a civil war on the unhappy Charles, sent him their demands in nineteen propositions; but they were so extravagant, that the king, in reply, was compelled to observe, " Should I grant these demands, I may be waited on bareheaded; the title of majesty may be continued to me; but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king."

War, on any terms, seemed to the king and his counsellors, preferable to such ignominious conditions as were wished to be imposed on him; and, therefore, advancing southward, at Nottingham he erected the royal standard, the open signal of civil war.

When two names so sacred in the English constitution

constitution as those of KING and PARLIAMENT were set in opposition, it is no wonder that the people, divided in their choice, were agitated with the most violent animosities and factions. The nobility and more considerable gentry, dreading a total subversion of order, generally enlisted themselves on the king's side; while most of the corporations, as being republican in their principles of government, took part with the parliament.

Never was a quarrel more unequal, than seemed at first that between the contending parties; apparently, every advantage lay on the side of parliament, which had not only the most numerous adherents, but had also stopped all supplies, and converted the ordinary revenues to their own use. The torrent of general affection ran likewise to the parliament, and the epithets of *wicked* and *malignant* were freely bestowed on the king's friends, while their adversaries were denominated, the *godly*, and *well-affected*.

The king, however, derived some advantage from the nature and qualities of his adherents. More bravery and activity were hoped for from the generous spirit of the nobles, than from the base disposition of the multitude; and in addition to this, the superior abilities they possessed, gave them resources, which their opponents, in general, could not equal.

The low condition in which Charles lay at Nottingham, with about three thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry, confirmed the contempt of the parliament. Their forces, stationed at Northampton, consisted of at least six thousand men, in every respect better appointed; but, as it was hoped, the royal party would

dissolve

dissolve in its own weakness, the parliamentary general had no orders to advance.

While affairs remained in this state, another attempt was made at accommodation; but parliament, having demanded as a preliminary, that the king should disband his troops, and give up delinquents to their justice, all prospects of peace were at an end.

Meanwhile, Portsmouth surrendered to the parliamentary forces; and the marquis of Hertford, who had been named the king's general in the western counties, and had drawn together a small army, being attacked by the earl of Bedford, was obliged to pass over into Wales, leaving a few of the royal partisans to march into Cornwall, under sir Ralph Hopton, sir John Berkeley, and some others.

The earl of Essex, at last, advancing at the head of fifteen thousand men, the king withdrew to Shrewsbury, where he published a declaration of his resolution to maintain the established religion, and to make the laws the measure of his future government. While he lay at Shrewsbury, he received the news of the first action of any consequence, which had yet taken place, and which was decided in his favour.

On the appearance of civil commotions in England, the princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate palatine, and nephews of Charles, had offered him their services. The former, at that time, commanded a body of horse, which had been stationed at Worcester to watch the motions of Essex, who was advancing towards that city. A detached party under colonel Sandys was completely routed, and their leader killed; and Rupert, by this first essay of

arms,

arms, acquired that character for promptitude and courage, which he afterwards so fully confirmed.

The king, now mustering his army, found it to consist of ten thousand men. The earl of Lindsey was general, prince Rupert commanded the horse, and lord Bernard Stewart was at the head of a troop of guards, whose estates and revenue, according to Clarendon, were at least equal to those of all the members, who, at the commencement of the war, voted in both houses.

With this army, the king left Shrewbury, determined to bring on an action as soon as possible Having reached Banbury, he received intelligence that Essex was encamped at Keinton, only a few miles distant, and both parties advancing, they met at Edge-hill, and fought with various success. The cavalry and the right wing of the parliament army were defeated, but the day was relieved by sir William Balfour, who, commanding the reserve, fell upon the royalists, while dispersed in plundering, and thus balanced the loss which had been sustained. The earl of Lindsey was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and sir Edmund Verney, the king's standard bearer, was killed. Both armies gradually recovered their ranks, but neither of them had courage to renew the conflict. The earl of Essex retired to Warwick, and Charles continued his march to Oxford, a city wholly at his devotion.

As soon as the royal army was refreshed and recruited, the king advanced to Reading, which had been garrisoned by the parliament. The governor and his troops being seized with a panic, fled, on the approach of the royal troops, and

and parliament, which expected to have gained a bloodless victory over the king, seeing he was so well supported, voted an address for a treaty. The king named Windsor as the place of conference; but as Essex had arrived at London, Charles too hastened his approach, and attacking two regiments, quartered at Brentford, beat them from their post, and took five hundred prisoners. Loud complaints were raised against this attack, pending a negotiation, and the city being alarmed, ordered its trained bands to join the earl of Essex, by which means, his army was rendered much superior to that of the king, who, in consequence, judged it prudent to retire to Reading, and from thence to Oxford.

A. D. 1643.

The conferences between the king and parliament had not been accompanied with a cessation of hostilities, and it was soon found, that there was no probability of coming to an agreement. The earl of Essex laying siege to Reading, Fielding the governor consented to yield the town, on condition that he should bring off the garrison, and deliver up deserters. For this last article, so ignominious in itself, and so injurious to the king's interest, Fielding was tried and condemned to lose his life, but the sentence was afterwards remitted.

In the north, the earl of Newcastle commanded for the king, and lord Fairfax for the parliament. The former united in a league for the king, the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, and afterwards engaged some other counties in the association. Finding that Fairfax was making some progress in Yorkshire, he took possession of York with four thousand men, and at Tad-

caster

caster came to an action with the enemy, whom he dislodged, but his victory was not decisive.

It was about this period, that sir William Waller began to distinguish himself, as a parliamentary general. After taking Winchester and Chichester, he defeated lord Herbert, who had laid siege to Gloucester, with a considerable body of Welsh troops.

In the west, sir Bevil Granville, sir Ralph Hopton, sir Nicholas Stanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, had, at their own charge, raised an army for the king, and successively defeated the parliamentary leaders, Ruthven and lord Stamford. At Stratton, they signalized their courage in the most illustrious manner; and drew the attention of both king and parliament, to the quarter in which they acted.

The marquis of Hertford, and prince Maurice, having joined the Cornish army, Waller advanced with a considerable force to check their progress. At Landsdown, near Bath, a pitched battle was fought, but without any decisive event. The gallant Grenville, however, was killed in the action, and Hopton was dangerously wounded.

The royalists now attempted to march eastward, and join the king's forces at Oxford, but Waller hanging on their rear, a battle took place on Roundway-down near Devises, in which the parliamentary army was entirely defeated. This important victory struck great dismay into the rebels, which was encreased by the loss of the celebrated Hampden, in a skirmish at Chalgrove, in Oxfordshire. All parties united in their lamentations for the fate of this distinguished man, who had evinced as

much

much valour in the war, as he had formerly, eloquence in the senate, and resolution at the bar. The king himself so highly valued him, that when he heard he was wounded, he intended to have sent his own surgeon to attend him; but this generous or politic concern was unavailing; for Hampden had been mortally wounded.

In this affair, prince Rupert had again signalized himself, and Essex, discouraged by the event, retired towards London, while the royal army moved westward, and laid siege to Bristol, which soon surrendered. This acquisition was of the greatest importance, and such was the general alarm, that had the royalists marched directly to London, instead of wasting their time in the siege of Gloucester, it is probable, Charles might have triumphed over all his enemies.

In the beginning of the summer, a combination had been formed by Edmund Waller, the poet, a member of the lower house, to oblige the parliament to accept of moderate conditions, and to restore peace to the nation. For the execution of this project, he trusted to his influence in the city; but the design having been betrayed to Pym, two of his associates were condemned and hanged, and Waller himself only escaped the same fate, by his interest with the puritanical preachers, whom he had the art to cajole.

As Gloucester still held out under Massey, the parliament governor, but was reduced to great distress, it was determined to make the greatest efforts to relieve it. Accordingly, Essex, at the head of fourteen thousand men,

making his appearance in the vicinity, the king was obliged to withdraw, when the garrison had only one barrel of powder left, and were equally destitute of provisions.

Essex, however, had still his retreat to make in the face of an enemy much superior in cavalry; and when he reached Newbury, he found the king posted in his front, and that an action was unavoidable. His horse were several times broken, but the infantry maintained themselves in firm array; and night putting an end to the engagement, left the victory undecided. Essex, continued his march to London, and the king following, was able to re-capture Reading; a small compensation for the loss of such a man as Lucius Cary, viscount Falkland, who had fallen in the battle of Newbury. In all the virtues that can adorn humanity, Falkland was eminent. On the morning of the day in which he met his fate, he had shewn more than usual care in dressing himself, and gave for a reason, that the enemy might not find his body in any slovenly indecent situation. "I am weary," subjoined he, "of the times, and foresee much misery to my country; but believe I shall be out of it ere night." He was only thirty-four years old, when he fell.

In the north, the popularity and influence of the earl, now created marquis of Newcastle, had raised a considerable force for the king, but it twice met with a check from two men, on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who, about this time, began to be distinguished for their valour and military conduct. These were sir Thomas Fairfax, son to the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. On the other hand,

hand, the royalists totally defeated lord Fairfax at Atherton Moor; after which, Newcastle sat down with his army before Hull, whose former governor Hotham, because he had expressed a wish to favour the king's interest, had some time before fallen a victim to the severity of parliament, together with his son.

Newcastle, however, was obliged to raise the siege; and about the same period, Manchester having joined Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable victory over the royalists at Horncastle. Thus fortune seemed to balance her favours; but the king's party still remained much superior in the north, and had not his majesty unfortunately lost both time and credit at the siege of Gloucester, he might, in this campaign, have gone a great way towards finishing the war.

As the event became more doubtful, both parties looked round for assistance. The parliament easily prevailed on the Scots covenanters to espouse their cause, by joining in a solemn league and covenant, to promote their mutual aims; and the king having agreed to a cessation of hostilities in Ireland, where the English interest had regained its ascendancy, procured considerable bodies of troops from that kingdom.

In order to preserve the appearance of a parliament, the king had summoned to Oxford the members who adhered to his interest. A great majority of peers attended him; but the commons were scarcely half so numerous, as those who sat at Westminster. The latter having voted an excise on beer, wine, and other commodities, the parliament at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that

A. D. 1644.

revenue on the king. This was the first time that an excise was introduced into England.

The same winter the famous Pym died; a man as much hated by the royalists, as he was respected by the puritans. He certainly was disinterested; and parliament, out of gratitude, discharged the debts he had contracted.

The troops from Ireland, under the command of lord Biron, after obtaining some advantages in Cheshire, were defeated at Nantwich, by sir Thomas Fairfax, who in the sequel having driven Newcastle into York, in conjunction with Leven, the Scotch commander, blockaded him there.

Prince Rupert had succeeded in relieving Newark, while, on the other hand, Hopetoun was defeated by Waller at Cherrington. Meanwhile the parliament had made formidable preparations for commencing the campaign with vigour; and such apprehensions were entertained by the court at Oxford, that the queen thought it prudent to retire to Exeter, whence, in case of danger, she might easily escape to France.

The earl of Manchester having taken Lincoln, had united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York, though vigorously defended by Newcastle, was reduced to the last extremity, when the besiegers received the unwelcome news that prince Rupert, having joined Newcastle's horse, was rapidly advancing at the head of twenty thousand men.

The Scottish and parliamentary leaders drew up on Marston Moor, to give battle to the royalists, and Newcastle strongly urged the prince to wait till this motley enemy should dissolve by their growing dissensions; but Rupert, consulting only his courage, led on his troops

to the charge. The action commenced with various success, and was obstinately contested; but after the utmost efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned on the side of the parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken, and his whole army pushed off the field of battle.

This affair, in which Cromwell gained high and deserved reputation, proved very fatal to the king's interest. Newcastle, disgusted at the little respect Rupert had paid to his suggestions, and wounded by the fatal event, resolved to leave the kingdom. He retired to the continent, where he lived till the Restoration, in great necessity, and saw with indifference his opulent fortune sequestered by those who assumed the reins of government.

Prince Rupert retired with the remains of his army into Lancashire, and York surrendered to Fairfax, while Newcastle was stormed by the Scots.

Ruthven, now created earl of Brentford, managed the king's affairs in the south with more success. Two armies, one under Essex, and the other under Waller, having marched towards Oxford, the king leaving a numerous garrison in that city, dexterously eluded both armies, and marched towards Worcester. Waller received orders to follow him, while he himself proceeded westward, in quest of prince Maurice. When only the Severn separated Waller from the royal camp, the king pushed on with rapidity towards Shrewsbury; but the parliamentary general trying to intercept him, retraced his former steps, and having reinforced his army, in his turn marched out in quest of Waller. At Crupredy bridge,

bridge, near Banbury, the two armies faced each other, with only the Cherwell running between. Waller, attempting to pass the bridge, was repulsed with considerable loss, in consequence of which the remainder of his army began to melt away by desertion.

The king perceiving this, marched westward in pursuit of Essex, and having cooped him up in a narrow corner at Lestwithiel, reduced him to the last extremity. Essex, Roberts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth. Balfour with his horse passed the king's posts in a thick mist, and the foot under Skippon were obliged to surrender.

No sooner did the news of this reverse reach London, than the parliament, with equal policy and magnanimity, voted thanks to Essex, and hastily drawing together more troops under Manchester, Cromwell, and Waller, the two armies met a second time at Newbury. In the engagement which ensued, the king's troops were overpowered by numbers, and night only saved them from a total defeat, and enabled them to reach Oxford. The artillery and baggage, however, had been secured in Donington castle, and Charles returned to its relief before Manchester could make any impression upon it, who was in his turn obliged to retire.

The discordant opinions which had arisen among the parliamentary leaders in the field, were now transferred to the senate. Cromwell was supported by the independents, who now appeared a distinct body from the presbyterians. The chiefs of the former were Vane, Cromwell, Frennes, and Oliver St. John; but as the majority of the nation adhered to the presbyterians, it

it was only by cunning and intrigue, that the independents could hope to prevail, and in those qualities they were not deficient.

A self-denying ordinance having passed, by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, Essex, Manchester, and others resigned their commands. A. D. 1645.

Meanwhile, sir Thomas Fairfax being appointed general, a man of courage and humanity, but of little genius, he requested that he might be favoured with the advice and assisance of Cromwell for another campaign, and, by this artifice, which was no doubt concerted between them, the latter was saved from being discarded with the rest of his former associates. The ascendancy of Cromwell over Fairfax soon became apparent, and the strokes of his character daily developed themselves. His extensive capacity enabled him to form the most enlarged projects, and his enterprising genius was not daunted by the boldest and most dangerous. By the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined artifice, and the semblance of the greatest moderation and simplicity, he concealed an ambitious and imperious mind, which ultimately led him to the summit of power.

Negotiations had once more been resumed for peace, and commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge; but in the important articles of religion, the militia, and Ireland, it was soon found impossible to come to any amicable adjustment. The king would not consent to abolish episcopacy, and the parliament expected that the whole

whole power connected with the two other points should be left in their hands.

Before this treaty had been set on foot, archbishop Laud, a prelate highly favoured by the king, after undergoing a long imprisonment, was brought to his trial for high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. During this trial, which lasted a long time, though the fate of the accused had already been pre-judged, Laud behaved with uncommon spirit and vigour of mind. "No one," said he, "can be more willing to send me out of life than I am to go." On the scaffold he shewed the same fortitude and composure. One stroke removed him from this world to a better.

While the king's affairs appeared to be declining in England, some events took place which promised a more favourable issue in Scotland. The young earl of Montrose being introduced to his majesty, was so won by his civilities and caresses, that, from a determined enemy, he became one of his most zealous friends, and endeavoured to draw over others to the same way of thinking.

Montrose, not discouraged by the defeat at Marston Moor, having obtained a supply of eleven hundred men, under the earl of Antrim, immediately declared himself, and entered on the career which has rendered his name immortal. Several hundreds of his countrymen soon flocked to his standard; and with his little army he attacked lord Elcho, who lay at Perth, with much superior numbers. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was chiefly answered

by

by a volley of stones, for want of other weapons, he rushed among them, sword in hand, and throwing them into confusion, obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of 2000 covenanters.

Though the majority of the kingdom was attached to the covenant, the enterprises of Montrose were crowned with the most brilliant success. The celerity of his marches eluded the vigilance of his enemies; and where they least expected, the rage of war was let loose upon them. At Aberdeen he defeated lord Burley; the army of Seaforth dispersed at the terror of his name; and over Urrey, who attacked him with double the number of covenanters to his own troops, he gained a complete victory at Alderne. Baillie, a general who had been sent to revenge Urrey's discomfiture, met with a similar fate at Alford; and Montrose, who had been successful in so many battles, now prepared to march into the southern provinces, in order to dissipate the parliament, which the covenanters had summoned to meet at St. Johnstone's.

While the flame of war was thus rekindled in the north, it blazed out with no less fury in the south. The parliamentary army had been modelled by Fairfax, or rather by Cromwell. Regimental chaplains were in a manner set aside; and the officers assuming the spiritual duty, occupied whatever leisure they could gain from military toils, in sermons, exhortations, and prayers. The private soldiers, seized with the same fanaticism, mutually stimulated each other to farther advances in grace; and psalms and hymns were mixed with the sound of martial music as they advanced to battle.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile Charles, with 15000 men, setting out from Oxford, had relieved Chester, and in his return stormed Leicester; but scarcely had he atchieved this, before he was informed, that Fairfax and Cromwell were advancing to give him battle. It was agreed in a council of war, to avoid an action till some expected supplies should arrive; but the impetuosity of prince Rupert, and the impatience of the young nobility, pushed him on to hazard all in a general engagement.

At Naseby was fought, with nearly equal forces, this decisive and well-disputed action, between the king and the parliament. His majesty led on his main body, and displayed in this action all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valour of a stout soldier. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well supported the celebrity they had previously acquired. Cromwell too behaved with his usual prudence and gallantry, and very materially contributed to turn the fortune of the day. The royal infantry was entirely discomfited; and, though the king cried aloud to the cavalry, "One charge more, and we recover the day!" they could not be prevailed on to renew the combat, and the king was obliged to quit the field. The slain on the side of parliament, however, exceeded those of the king; but Fairfax had made 500 officers prisoners, and 4000 private men, and taken all the king's artillery and ammunition.

Among the spoils was found the king's cabinet, with copies of his letters to the queen, which were published by the parliament. In point of delicacy and tenderness, they give us an exalted idea both of Charles's morals and genius.

After the battle of Naseby, the king retired into

into Wales, with the body of horse which remained entire; and Fairfax marching into the west, relieved Taunton, took Bridgwater and Bath, and then laid siege to Bristol. Into this important city prince Rupert had thrown himself; and from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of the governor, an obstinate resistance was expected. Matters, however, turned out quite the reverse. No sooner had the parliamentary army entered the lines by storm, than the prince capitulated, which so provoked his uncle, that he instantly recalled all his nephew's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea. In fact, though this prince seems to have possessed an impetuous courage, he wanted cool prudence: and his precipitancy on more occasions than one hastened the ruin of the king's affairs.

A. D. 1646.

On the side of the royalists, every thing now fell into decline. Charles himself escaping to Oxford, shut himself up there with the broken remains of his army. The prince of Wales retired to France, where he joined his mother; the west submitted to the arms of Fairfax and Cromwell; and the defeat of Montrose at Philip-haugh, after a series of splendid actions, seemed to seal the final destiny of the king's party.

The presbyterians and independents, whom mutual danger had united, now began to quarrel with each other; while the king, who hoped to reap some advantage from these dissensions, was at a loss which it would be most for his interest to side with. He had, however, but a short time for decision. Fairfax, with a victorious army, was approaching to lay siege to Oxford,

ford, which must infallibly surrender. In this desperate extremity Charles adopted an expedient, which had been suggested by Montreville, the French ambassador, of seeking protection from the Scottish army which at that time lay before Newark.

Accompanied only by Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, the king privately set out from Oxford, in the guise of a servant, and passing through numerous cross roads, safely reached the Scottish camp.

The generals and commissioners of that nation affected great surprise on the appearance of the king, and parliament hearing of his escape from Oxford, threatened instant death to whosoever should harbour or conceal him. The Scots, therefore, were obliged to justify themselves by declaring, that they had entered into no private understanding with his majesty; and to the eternal disgrace of the agents in this shameful business, after keeping him some time a prisoner, they agreed to surrender him to the parliament for 400,000 pounds, half of which was to be paid instantly.

The infamy of this bargain had such an effect on the Scottish parliament, that they once voted the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on: but these generous emotions were stifled by the cries of the covenanters, whom Charles, out of his love to episcopacy, could never be prevailed on to favour.

Charles received the final resolution of the Scots to surrender him, while he was playing at chess; and so little was he affected by the news, that he finished his game without the least appearance of discomposure. Being conveyed, by com-

commissioners sent for that purpose, to Holdenby castle, in Northumberland, his ancient servants were dismissed, and all communication with his friends or family was prohibited.

About this time died the earl of Essex, who, it seems, had wished to conciliate a peace, and from his influence with the presbyterians, he was, perhaps, the only man who could have stood any chance of effecting this. His death, therefore, was truly unfortunate for Charles's interest.

The dominion of the parliament, however, was of short duration. The presbyterians were most numerous among the commons, but the independents predominated in the army. The former proposed to embark a strong detachment for Ireland, and also to disband a considerable part of the forces; but the army was far from being inclined to serve in Ireland, and their pay being considerably in arrears, they took this opportunity of urging that it should be paid.

The parliament, alarmed at the evident symptoms of disaffection in the military, endeavoured to check it in its birth, and therefore summoned some officers to answer for their conduct; but this had quite a contrary effect to what was intended. Parliament then resolved to send Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to inquire into the cause of the discontents in the army, which the three last eagerly embraced the opportunity of fomenting, under the specious mask of appeasing them.

In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed: together with a council of the principal officers, on the model of the house of peers, representatives of the

the army were composed by the election of two private men as inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company.

This court voted the conduct of parliament unsatisfactory, and forseeing that civil anarchy, from the very nature of things, must at last terminate in military despotism, they took care to strike a blow which at once decided the victory in their favour.

A party of 500 horse, under the command of cornet Joyce, who had once been a taylor, but was now an active agitator, appearing at Holdenby, Joyce rushing into the king's presence, armed with pistols, told him he must go along with him. "Whither?" said his majesty. "To the army," replied Joyce. "By what authority?" asked the king. Joyce pointing to the soldiers, who were tall, handsome, and well accoutred, Charles smiling said, "Your warrant is writ in fair characters, legible without spelling."

Resistance of course was vain, and Charles stepping into his coach, was safely conducted to the army, which was hastening to its rendezvous at Triplo-heath, near Cambridge.

Fairfax was ignorant of this manœuvre, and it was not till the arrival of Cromwell, who had been to wait on parliament with his usual hypocrisy, that the intrigue was developed. On his appearance in the camp, he was received with loud acclamations, and was instantly invested with the supreme command.

Sensible that the parliament, though in great dismay at present, had many resources, he advanced upon them with his army, and in a few days reached St. Alban's. All was in confusion at Westminster, and the army, hoping by terror

to

to effect all their purposes, halted at St. Alban's, and entered into negotiation with their masters.

The army, in their usurpations on the parliament, copied exactly the model which the parliament had set them, in their recent usurpations on the crown. Every day they rose in their demands, and one concession only paved the way to another still more exorbitant. At last, seeing no danger of resistance, in order to save appearances, they removed to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading.

Charles, who was constantly carried with them, found his situation much more comfortable than at Holdenby. His friends and children were allowed access to him, and both Cromwell and the parliament paid court to him; and so confident did he appear that all parties would find it for their interest to have recourse to his lawful authority, that on several occasions he observed, "You cannot be without me, you cannot settle the nation but by my assistance."

Charles, however, though he wished to hold the balance between the opposite factions, placed his chief reliance on the army at this period; and to bring it over to his interest, he made the most splendid offers to Cromwell and Ireton. The former seemed to listen to his proposals, but probably he had already conceived views of higher ambition than to be the first of subjects.

Cromwell systematically pursued his plan of humbling the parliament, and of being left in England without a competitor. A petition being presented by the apprentices and seditious multitude, against some decrees of parliament, and the house being obliged to retract its votes, the

the army, under pretence of restoring both houses to liberty, advanced to Hounslow, where Manchester and Lenthal, the two speakers, having secretly retired, by collusion, presented themselves with all the ensigns of their dignity, and complained of the violence that had been put upon them.

The two speakers were gladly received, and being conducted to Westminster by a military force, every act which had passed in their absence was annulled; and the party which espoused the interests of the army became completely triumphant.

The generals having now established their dominion over the city and parliament, ventured to bring the king to Hampton-Court; but, finding his prospects daily became worse, from the insolence of the agitators, which rose in proportion to their success, and despairing of bringing Cromwell over to his views, he adopted the sudden and impolitic resolution of withdrawing, attended only by sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legge. Next day he reached Tichfield; but, sensible that he could not long remain concealed there, he imprudently committed himself into the hands of Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, a mere creature of Cromwell's, by whom he was carried to Carisbrooke castle, and confined a prisoner, though treated with the externals of duty and respect.

Cromwell, now free from all anxiety in regard to the custody of the king's person, and awed by no authority, applied himself seriously to quell the disorders of the army, which himself had so diligently raised. He issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; but these

these *levellers*, as they were called, making a shew of resistance, Cromwell, in the moment of a review, seized the ringleaders before their companions, caused one mutineer to be shot instantly, and struck such terror into the rest, that they quietly returned to discipline and obedience.

Cromwell, who paid great deference to the counsels of Ireton, a man who had grafted the soldier on the lawyer, and the statesman on the saint, by his suggestion called a council of officers at Windsor, where at first opened the daring design of bringing their sovereign to condign punishment for mal-administration. But the time for carrying this into execution was not yet arrived, though it was hastened by the intemperance of parliament, whose motions Cromwell directed.

That assembly, in their transactions with Charles, no longer paid any regard to reason or equity. They transmitted him four proposals, to which he was to give his positive assent before they would deign to treat. The first was, that he should invest parliament with the military power for twenty years; the second, that he should recal all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and acknowledge that they had taken up arms in their just and necessary defence; the third, that he should annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage which had passed the great seal since th commencement of the civil wars; and the fourth was, that he should give the two houses liberty to adjourn as they thought proper.

Charles, though a prisoner, regarded these demands as exorbitant, especially as there was

A. D. 1648. no security that these concessions should lead to any final settlement. The republicans took fire at this remark; and Cromwell, after expatiating on the valour and godliness of the army, added, "Teach them not, by your neglecting your own safety and that of the kingdom, to imagine themselves betrayed, and their interests abandoned to the rage and malice of an irreconcileable enemy, whom, for your sake, they have dared to provoke. Beware (and at these words he laid his hand on his sword), beware lest despair cause them to seek safety by some other means than by adhering to you, who know not how to consult your own safety."

Ninety-one members, however, had still the virtue and the courage to oppose this military threat; but the majority decided, that no more addresses were to be made to the king, and that it should be high-treason for any person to correspond with him without a license from parliament.

By this vote the king was actually dethroned; but the parliament and the army enjoyed not in tranquillity that power which, with so much injustice and violence, they had obtained.

The Scots, alarmed at the subjection of parliament to the army, and the confinement of the king, had resolved to arm 40,000 men in support of their native prince, and secretly entered into correspondence with the English royalists, who excited insurrections in several parts of the kingdom. At the same time, seventeen ships lying at the mouth of the river, declared for the king, and setting their admiral ashore, sailed to Holland, where the prince of Wales took the command of them.

Cromwell

Cromwell and his military council, however, prepared themselves with vigour and conduct for defence; and, during this interval, parliament having regained some share of liberty, repealed the vote for non-addressing, and five peers and ten commoners were sent to Newport in the Isle of Wight, as commissioners to treat with Charles.

From the time that the king had been a prisoner he had totally neglected his person; his beard was suffered to grow long, and his hair, either from the decline of years, or the load of sorrow with which he was oppressed, was turned quite grey. But the vigour of his mind was still unbroken; and alone and unsupported for two months, he maintained an argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in both houses, without suffering any advantage to be taken of him. He offered to recal all his proclamations, and to acknowledge that parliament had taken arms in their own defence; he agreed that assembly should retain for twenty years the power over the militia and the army, and of levying what money they pleased, with the liberty to fill all the great offices of state; but two demands he positively resisted. He would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor agree to abolish episcopacy, though he was willing to temper it.

Meanwhile, Hamilton having entered England with a numerous, but undisciplined army, Cromwell did not hesitate to attack him with far inferior forces; and having put his troops to the route, and forced him to surrender, followed up his advantage, and in his turn entered Scotland, where he exercised the most tyrannical power,

and, in conjunction with his partizans, placed all authority in the hands of the most violent anti-royalists.

Colchester, which had held out for the king to the last extremity, under sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle, being obliged to surrender, Fairfax, instigated by the savage Ireton, ordered those officers to be shot. Lucas himself gave orders to fire, with the same calmness as if he had commanded a platoon of his own soldiers; when Lisle, kissing the dead body, cheerfully presented himself to a like fate. Thinking the soldiers destined for his execution stood at too great a distance, he invited them to come nearer, on which one of them replied, "I'll warrant you, sir, we'll hit you." "Friends," said he, smiling, "I have been nearer when you have missed me." When Charles heard of the fate of those unhappy gentlemen, he dissolved into a flood of tears, a tribute which none of his own unparalleled misfortunes had ever extorted from him.

The council of general officers having now nothing to fear, demanded the dissolution of the present parliament, and a more equal representation in future. At the same time they advanced the troops to Windsor, and ordered the king to be removed to Hurst Castle, in Hampshire.

Parliament, however, had the courage to set aside the remonstrance of the army, and to issue orders to forbid its nearer approach to London. But the generals were not to be intimidated by a vote or a decree. They advanced their troops to the metropolis, and surrounded the parliament with their hostile preparations.

In this dilemma, the parliament had the resolution

lution to attempt to close their treaty with the king; and, after a violent debate of three days, it was carried by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine, against eighty-three, in the house of commons, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon, on the settlement of the kingdom.

Next day, however, when the commons were about to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, having surrounded the house with two regiments, forty-one members of the presbyterian party were seized, and above one hundred and sixty more were excluded. In short, none but the most determined of the independents were allowed to enter, and these did not exceed the number of fifty or sixty. This invasion of the parliament, commonly passed under the name of *colonel Pride's purge*. The independents instantly reversed the former vote, which might yet have saved the king and constitution, and declared the concessions of Charles unsatisfactory: they renewed their vote of non-addresses; and committed some of the leading presbyterian members to prison.

These violent measures filled the whole nation with terror and astonishment; and many began to withdraw themselves beyond sea, from the storm which they perceived was ready to burst.

A scheme was now taken into consideration, by the generals, called, "the agreement of the people," which laid the basis of a republic; and that they might confirm all their former iniquity and fanatical extravagance, they urged on the remaining shadow of a parliament, to bring in a specific charge against their sovereign.

reign. A vote was accordingly passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament, and appointing a high court of justice to try Charles, for this new invented treason.

The house of peers, which had in a manner been deserted, was called upon in the usual way for their sanction to this vote; but of sixteen members who were present, not one would agree to such an infamous plan; and, therefore, having instantly rejected the vote of the lower house, they adjourned for ten days, in hopes, by this delay, to retard the furious career of the commons.

This obstacle, however, was easily surmounted by that body. Having assumed as a principle, which is true in theory, though false in practice, "That the people are the origin of all just power," they declared that the commons represented the people, and that these decrees had the force of laws.

The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart was then read, and unanimously agreed to. In proportion to the enormity of their violences and usurpations, the pretences of sanctity were augmented among these regicides. In particular, Cromwell made a speech, so full of cant and hypocrisy, that its tenor alone would have been sufficient to have rendered him detestable.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was dispatched with a strong party to conduct the king to London, and at this time, it seems, his majesty anticipated assassination, having no idea that he was to be brought to a public trial. All things, however, being adjusted, the high court of

justice

justice consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons named by the commons; but scarcely more than seventy ever sat; so difficult was it to engage men of any name or character in that detestable measure.

Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army, mostly men of low birth, were members, together with some of the lower house, and a few citizens of London. The twelve judges were originally joined in the commission; but as they had protested against the legality of the proceeding, their names were struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president, and Coke was appointed solicitor to the people of England.

The court sat in Westminster hall, and the king being arraigned for having levied war against the parliament, was impeached as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer. But, though produced as a criminal, Charles maintained the dignity of a monarch, and with great temper and force of reasoning, declined the authority of the court. He observed, that he was their native hereditary king; nor was the whole authority of the state, though free and united, entitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the supreme Majesty of Heaven; and that those who arrogated a title to sit as his judges, were born his subjects, and born subject to those laws which had determined, "that the king can do no wrong." That to the world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was desirous, if called upon in another manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct, and assert the justice of those defensive arms, to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourse; but that,

that, in order to preserve an uniformity of conduct, he must, at present, forego the apology of his innocence; lest, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he should be justly branded as the betrayer, instead of being applauded as the martyr of the constitution.

Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined its jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved, that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him.

In this last scene, Charles forgot not his character, either as a man or a prince. Firm and intrepid, he maintained, in each reply, the utmost perspicuity in thought and expression; mild and equable, he rose into no passion at the unfeeling tyranny he experienced. His soul, without effort or affectation, seemed only to remain in the situation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice. The soldiers were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice: "Poor souls!" said the king, "for a little money they would do as much against their commanders."

All the courts of Europe interposed, as soon as they knew what was meditated against Charles: the Scots exclaimed and protested; the queen and the prince wrote pathetic letters to parliament; but all solicitations were fruitless, with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable. Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindsay represented to the commons, that as they were the king's counsellors, they were guilty,

guilty, in the eye of the law, of every action of the prince; they exposed themselves, indeed, to danger, by this magnanimity, but they contributed nothing to their master's safety.

The people remained in silence and astonishment, and the soldiers, plied with prayers and exhortations, were wrought up to a degree of bloody fury. Three days only were allowed the king, between his sentence and execution; and this interval was passed with great tranquillity in reading and devotion, and in conversing with the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, who alone of his family remained in England.

Every night the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of workmen employed in raising a scaffold, continually resounded in his ears. The morning of the fatal day, which was the 30th of January, 1649, Charles rose earlier than usual, and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for such a great and joyful solemnity. Juxon, bishop of London, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues as his master, assisted him in his devotions. As he was preparing for the block, the bishop said, "There is, sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory." "I go," rejoined the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place."

At one blow his head was severed from his body

body by a man in a vizor, while another, in a similar disguise, held up to the spectators, the head streaming with blood, and cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor!"

It is impossible to describe the grief, indignation, and astonishment, which took place throughout the nation, on this melancholy occasion. Each reproached himself for being a tame spectator of such a catastrophe. The generous Fairfax, it seems, had determined to rescue him from the scaffold, with his own regiment; but his designs being suspected, he was artfully engaged by Cromwell in prayer with Harrison, till the blow was struck.

The moment before the execution, Charles had said to Juxon, in an earnest and impressive manner, *Remember*. The generals insisted on knowing the meaning of this word, when Juxon declared, that the unhappy king had charged him to inculcate on his son, the forgiveness of his murderers. Indeed, his last speech was replete with the same noble sentiments; and though Charles, as a king, had not been free from blemishes; as a man, few had ever filled the throne, who was entitled to more unqualified praise. He was only forty-eight years old, and was buried at Windsor.

Immediately after this tragedy, the commons passed a vote, declaring the house of peers useless and dangerous, and a like vote was passed in regard to the monarchy. It was declared high treason to proclaim or otherwise acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called the prince of Wales; and the commons ordered a new great seal to be engaved, on which that assembly was represented with the legend, "On

"On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored 1648."

Soon after, the duke of Hamilton, and lord Capel, were both tried by a new high court of justice, and being condemned for treason, were executed. It should likewise be noticed, in this place, that a book called the Icon Basilike, was published a few days after the king's execution, and excited a general compassion in favour of his memory. So much was it attended to, that it ran through twelve editions in a year; and though it has been doubted whether it was a genuine production of Charles, there seems little reason to ascribe it to Dr. Ganden, the only other persons to whom it was given.

CHAP. XV.

The Commonwealth.

ON the death of Charles, every person, according to his own distempered imagination, had framed the model of a republic, which he wished to impose on his fellow citizens. The levellers insisted on an equal distribution of power and property; the millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, required that government itself should be abolished, and to look only for the second coming of Christ; while the antinomians asserted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were suspended, and that the elect were guided by an internal principle, more perfect and divine. A. D. 1649.

The royalists were inflamed with the highest resentment

resentment against their ignoble adversaries; the presbyterians were enraged to find, that the fruits of their labours were ravished from them by the superior cunning of their associates; and the army, the chief support of the independent republican faction, were actuated by a religious frenzy, which rendered it dangerous to its very friends.

The influence and artifice of Cromwell were the only poise against these irregularities of action. Hating monarchy while a subject, despising liberty while a citizen, he was secretly paving the way to his own unlimited authority.

The parliament now named a council of state, consisting of thirty-eight members, who digested all business, before it was brought into the house. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themselves, were too wise to interfere in the domestic dissensions of this island; and the young king, poor and neglected, could only indulge hopes, without the immediate prospect of their being realized. The situation of Scotland and Ireland alone gave any present inquietude to the new republic.

Argyle and his partizans had proclaimed Charles II. in Scotland; but on condition of his strict observance of the covenant: in Ireland, the duke of Ormond had contrived to assemble an army of sixteen thousand men, which after recovering many places from the parliament, threatened Dublin itself with a siege.

Cromwell saw that this would be the field for him to signalize himself in, and by his usual cunning, procured an appointment from the council of commander in chief in that island. He had, however, many disorders to compose

in

in England, before he set out, particularly in the army; but, with his usual felicity, he settled affairs sufficiently to allow him to set out.

On his arrival at Dublin, he hastened to Tredah, where Ormond had planted a strong garrison; but Cromwell, who knew the importance of dispatch, took the town, sword in hand, and made a cruel slaughter of the garrison. One person alone escaped, to be the messenger of this universal havoc and destruction.

Cromwell pretended to retaliate, by this severe execution, the inhumanity of the Irish massacre; and certainly his barbarous policy had the desired effect. Every town before which he presented himself, now opened its gates; and the English had nothing to fear, except from fatigue, and the advanced season. Fluxes and contagious disorders carried off numbers of them; and had not the English garrisons of Cork, Kinsale and other important places, deserted to him, he would have found it difficult to maintain his ground.

The desertion of the English, however, put an end to Ormond's authority: he left the island, and delegated his power to Clanricarde, who found affairs too desperate to admit any remedy. Above forty thousand Irish passed into foreign service, and left the parliamentary general at liberty to complete his conquest.

Meanwhile Charles, being informed that the Scottish parliament had proclaimed him king, was prevailed on, though reluctantly, to submit to the hard conditions tacked to his receival of the crown. To comply with these, he was chiefly induced on account of the fate of Montrose, who, with all

A. D. 1650.

the circumstances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen.

When informed that, by part of his sentence, his head was to be cut off and affixed to the prison, and his legs and arms to be stuck up in the four chief towns of the kingdom: "For my part," replied he, "I am much prouder to have my head affixed to the place where it is sentenced to stand, than to have my picture hung in the king's bed-chamber. So far from being concerned that my quarters are to be sent to four cities of the kingdom, I wish I had limbs enough to be dispersed into all the cities of Christendom, there to remain as testimonies in favour of the cause for which I suffer." This sentiment, the very same evening, he threw into verse. The poem still remains; a monument of his heroic spirit, and no despicable proof of his poetic genius. With the same constancy he met the stroke of the executioner, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Charles, in consequence of his agreement to take the covenant, and submit to other hard conditions, arrived under convoy of seven Dutch ships of war in the Frith of Cromarty. Before he was permitted to land, he was obliged to sign the covenant, and as he passed through Aberdeen, the quarters of Montrose were allowed to hang over the gate by which he entered. He soon found himself considered as a pageant of state; and as his facility in yielding to every demand gave some doubts of his sincerity, it was proposed he should pass through a public humiliation, instead of being crowned as he expected.

From this disgrace, Charles was saved by the advance

advance of the English army under Cromwell, who leaving Ireton in Ireland, had been invested with the principal command in Scotland, which Fairfax had declined from motives of feeling.

Leslie, who commanded the Scottish army, having entrenched himself between Edinburgh and Leith, avoided every artifice of Cromwell to bring him to a battle. The latter at last was reduced to such extremities, that he had even embraced the resolution of sending off his foot and artillery by sea, and of breaking through at all hazards, with his cavalry; but the madness of the Scottish ecclesiastics, preserved him from this dishonour.

These enthusiasts had not only enjoined Charles to withdraw from the army, but they had purged it of four thousand malignants, as they were called, though the best soldiers among them; and on the faith of visions, forced their general, in spite of all his remonstrances, to descend from an advantageous station he had occupied near Dunbar, with a view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwell seeing his enemy in motion, foretold without revelations, "that the Lord had delivered them into his hands." He gave orders for an immediate attack; and such was the effect of discipline, that though the Scots were double in number, they were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter. About three thousand were slain, and nine thousand taken prisoners. The approach of winter suspended hostilities for the present. The defeat of the Scots was not displeasing to Charles, as it rendered them more submissive to his authority; yet still the protesters kept aloof from the malignants.

A.D. 1651. Charles, encamping at Torwood near Stirling, cautiously adhered to defensive measures; but Cromwell, posting himself in his rear, made it necessary at last to decamp. On this occasion, the king embraced a resolution worthy of the prize for which he was contending. The road to England being open, where he hoped to be joined by numerous friends, he persuaded the generals to march thither; and with one consent, the army, to the number of fourteen thousand men, rose from their camp, and advanced by rapid marches towards the south.

Cromwell, on this, leaving Monk with seven thousand men, to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all possible expedition. The friends of Charles being unprepared, were afraid to act, and when he arrived at Worcester, his army, making allowance for desertions and accessions, was nearly of the same number as when he left Torwood.

Such is the influence of once established government, however constituted, that the parliament had influence to raise the militia of the counties, and these united with the regular army, soon enabled Cromwell to fall upon the king at Worcester, with thirty thousand men. The streets of that city were strewed with the dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of bravery and honour, was mortally wounded; Massey was wounded and made a captive, and the whole Scottish army, was either killed or taken prisoners. The king himself, having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly.

By the earl of Derby's direction, who had joined him, he retired to Boscobel, a lone house on

on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell a farmer, who in conjunction with his four brothers, served him with unshaken fidelity. They clothed him in a garb like their own, and employed him like themselves in cutting faggots. For better concealment, he mounted an oak, where, hid among the leaves, he saw several soldiers pass by, who expressed in his hearing, their wish that they might be able to find him. This tree was afterwards denominated the royal oak, and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with extreme veneration.

From Boscobel, Charles, by various intermediate stages, arrived at the house of colonel Windham, in Dorsetshire, a zealous partizan of the royal family; and at last, after escaping the frequent dangers of detection, he embarked at Shoreham in Sussex, and safely landed at Fescamp in Normandy, after one and forty days concealment, and being obliged to trust himself to no fewer than forty men and women, who all proved faithful to their trust.

The battle of Worcester afforded Cromwell what he called his crowning mercy. He now made little secret of his aspiring views, and the nation being dissatisfied with the shadow of a parliament, calling themselves the commonwealth of England, paved the way to his exaltation. Never, however, had the power of this country appeared so formidable to neighbouring nations, as at this time. Blake had raised the naval glory of England to the highest pitch. In America, the Bermudas, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Virginia, were reduced; in Europe, Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were brought under subjection to the republic; and all

all the British dominions submitting, parliament turned its views to foreign enterprizes.

The Dutch were the first who felt the weight of their arms. Against that nation war was declared, on the most frivolous pretexts: even the cruelties committed on the English at Amboyna, though they had been suffered to sleep in oblivion for thirty years, were now urged as a ground for hostile aggression. On this occasion, the famous navigation act was passed.

The States, on the other hand, were not inattentive to their defence. They equipped a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail; and gave Van Tromp the command of a squadron of forty-two ships, to protect the Dutch navigation against the privateers of England. In the road of Dover he met with Blake, who commanded a much inferior fleet. A battle commenced, which, notwithstanding all disadvantages, terminated in favour of the English.

Several actions, with various success, followed this. At last Tromp, seconded by de Ruyter, met with Blake near the Goodwin Sands, and though the force of the latter was inferior, he declined not the combat. Both sides fought with inconceivable bravery; but the advantage remained with the Dutch; after which Van Tromp, in bravado, fixed a broom to his mast head, as if resolved to sweep the seas of the English.

In a short time, however, Blake, reinforced by Dean and Monk, lying off Portland, descried, near break of day, a Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels, sailing up the channel with a convoy of three hundred merchantmen, under the command of Tromp and de Ruyter. A

most

most furious battle immediately commenced, which was continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy for three days, and Blake, who was victor, could scarcely be said to have gained more honour than the vanquished. Tromp made a gallant retreat, and after losing eleven ships of war, and thirty merchantmen, reached his own coasts. The English, though their fleet was severely shattered, had but one ship sunk. The number of slain was nearly equal on both sides, amounting to not less than two thousand men.

This defeat inclined the States to peace, and parliament was disposed to favour their advances, had not an event taken place, which put an end to the power of the latter.

Cromwell entertaining a jealousy of parliament, and it of him, he determined to anticipate their designs by a dissolution. A council of officers presented a remonstrance, complaining of the arrears due to the army, and demanding that a new parliament should be summoned. To this the members made a sharp reply, on which Cromwell, in a rage, hastened to the house, attended by three hundred chosen men, some of whom he planted at the door, some in the lobby, and others on the stairs; and after a short pause, ordered them to enter, cleared the house of the members, and locking the doors, departed to his lodgings at Whitehall.

Oliver Cromwell, who had by this violent measure monopolized the whole civil and military power in the kingdom, was born at Huntingdon, of a good family, though their estate was small. In the early part of his life, he had engaged in the grossest dissipation; but being suddenly

suddenly seized with a spirit of reformation, either from conviction or policy, he became remarkable for his religious habits; and, having wasted the greatest part of his patrimony, he was now glad to follow agriculture as a profession, at St. Ives, in his native county. The length of his prayers, however, and the general abstraction of his manner, prevented him from paying due attention to his farm; and urged by his wants, and the religious principles he had imbibed, he made a party with his kinsman Hampden, and, as has already been noticed, would have emigrated to New England, had he not been stopped by an order of council.

From accident and intrigue combined, he was at last returned for the town of Cambridge, to the long parliament; but, though deeply gifted with natural powers, he was no orator; and, had he not embraced the profession of arms, when no less than forty-three years of age, it is probable, his talents and his crimes would have been equally unknown.

The indignation manifested by the people, on Cromwell's usurpation, was less violent than might have been expected. The vessel of state had been so long tossed in the ocean, that the greatest part of the nation were happy to see it likely to be brought into port, by any pilot, who had courage to undertake the office.

Immediately on the dissolution of parliament, by the advice of his council of officers, he sent summons to one hundred and twenty-eight persons, of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, and to six of Ireland. These men, who were generally low mechanics, supported by Cromwell, voted themselves a parliament;

liament; and from one of the most noted, a leather-seller in London, whose name was Praise-God Barebone, they obtained the ridiculous appellation of Barebone's parliament.

This extraordinary assembly, which consisted chiefly of fanatics, whom Cromwell had imagined would be entirely subservient to him, having shown a disposition to oppose his views, colonel White was sent to the house with a party of soldiers, and asking some of the members, who had dared to think for themselves, what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere," replied he, "for to my knowledge, he has not been here these many years."

Tired of a parliament which he had first endeavoured to render contemptible by his choice of persons, Cromwell proposed in his council of officers to adopt another scheme of government, and to vest the supreme authority in a single person, who was to be stiled the PROTECTOR. Accordingly a new instrument of government was prepared, which being approved of in the military council, the usurper was declared *protector*, and installed with great solemnity in that high office.

By this new form of government, a council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one persons, nor be fewer than thirteen. The protector, however, was to possess all the executive power; but the advice of the council was required to be taken on every important occasion. A parliament was to be summoned every three years, and they were to be allowed to sit five months without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills which they passed were

to

to be presented to the protector for his assent but if that was withheld for twenty days, they were to become laws without it. A standing army was established, and funds assigned for its support. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid, till the next meeting of the legislative body.

It is evident from this brief account of the protector's government, that Cromwell possessed nearly absolute power; but whatever defects and distractions there might be in the civil regulations of the nation, the military force of England was exerted with vigour, conduct, and unanimity. The English fleet, under Monk and Dean, after an engagement of two days, in which Dean was killed, defeated the Dutch, commanded by Tromp. In a second engagement, when Blake commanded the English, Tromp fell in the midst of the action, and this alone decided the battle. The loss of thirty ships daunted the Dutch less than the catastrophe of their brave admiral.

A. D. 1654. The States now sued for peace, and a defensive league was contracted between the two republics, on terms very honourable and advantageous to England.

But though the favourable issue to which the Dutch war was brought, and an act of strict justice in bringing Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, to condign justice for the crime of murder, gave great satisfaction to the people; on assembling the parliament, Cromwell had occasion to observe the prejudices that were still entertained against his government. The manner in which he had conducted the

the elections had been favourable to liberty. The small boroughs, as being most liable to corruption, had been disfranchised; and of four hundred members who represented England, two hundred and seventy were chosen by the counties.

All these measures, however, failed to procure him the confidence of the people; and the first business on which the parliament entered, was to discuss the authority which Cromwell had assumed over the nation. His various precautions to secure an acquiescence in the order of things he had established, being likely to prove unsuccessful, he came to the resolution of dismissing parliament as early as the regulation he had made would permit.

After this, the protector exerted himself to the utmost, to depress the adherents of Charles; and in order to draw off the attention of the nation from himself, he extended his enterprises to every part of Europe. He compelled the French to withdraw the protection which they had hitherto granted to the unfortunate Charles ; and tha the might have full scope for his ambitious projects, he found occasion to break with Spain, whose extensive but feeble empire in the West Indies almost provoked attack.

A. D. 1655.

To humble this power, the protector equipped two considerable squadrons. One under Blake having spread terror through the Mediterranean, its commander determined to attack a fleet of sixteen Spanish ships, which had taken shelter in the bay of Santa Cruz, in the Canaries.

This bay was strongly fortified; but no impediments of nature or of art could daunt the re-

solution of Blake. In spite of the Spanish forts and batteries, the English admiral steered into the bay; and after a resistance of four hours, the enemy abandoned their ships, which were set on fire and consumed.

This was the last action of that gallant officer. Being almost worn out with a dropsy and scurvy, he hastened home, that he might die in his native country; but he expired just as he came in sight of land. Never was a man more sincerely respected, even by those of opposite principles. He was himself an inflexible republican, and by no means favourable to the late changes, but his maxim was, "that it is the duty of officers to fight for their country, into what hands soever the government may fall."

The other squadron was dispatched to the West Indies under Penn and Venables. The object of the expedition was St. Domingo; but failing in their attempt on that island, they bent their course to Jamaica, which became an easy conquest, and has ever since remained one of the most valuable appendages of the crown of Britain. Yet Cromwell undervalued this acquisition, and sent both the admirals to the tower, because they had not accomplished more.

The conduct of the protector in foreign affairs, though often rash, was full of vigour. It was his boast, that he would render the name of an Englishman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and this he partially realized. In his civil and domestic administration, he paid as much regard both to justice and clemency as could be expected from an usurper. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature,

were

were filled with men of integrity; and amidst the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were seldom warped by partiality.

Though Cromwell's general deportment was such as might befit the greatest monarch, he knew how to relax among his friends and confidants, and how to prevent familiarity from degenerating into contempt.

Under pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one commonwealth with England, Cromwell reduced those kingdoms to total subjection. The civil administration of Scotland was placed in a council, mostly composed of Englishmen. The government of Ireland was entrusted to his second son Henry, a young man of a mild disposition and not destitute of vigour; and about five millions of acres which had been forfeited by various causes, were divided among his civil and military adherents.

Cromwell now judging that his power was sufficiently established, summoned another parliament; but, though he had used every art to influence the elections, he was soon obliged to use the most violent measures to procure an ascendancy in the house. Guards being placed at the door, a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart or any of his family was voted; and Colonel Jephson, in order to sound the inclinations of the assembly, ventured to move, that the parliament should bestow the crown on Cromwell. When the protector afterwards affected to ask what could induce him to make such a motion: "As long," said Jephson, "as I have the honour to sit in parliament, I must follow the dictates of my own conscience, whatever offence I may be so unfortunate as to give you." "Get

thee gone," replied Cromwell, giving him a gentle blow on the shoulder, " get thee gone for a mad fellow as thou art."

At length a motion in form was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing Cromwell with the royal dignity. The chief opposition to this came from his former friends, the general officers, particularly Lambert, who had hopes of succeeding him; but the bill was carried by a considerable majority; and a committee was appointed to overcome the scruples which Cromwell pretended against such
A. D. 1657. a liberal offer. The conference lasted several days; but besides the terror with which the opposition from his usual adherents the officers had inspired him, Fleetwood, who had married his daughter, and Desborow the husband of his sister, with others of his nearest connections, all united against his assuming the title of king. In short, it is said, that a general mutiny of the army would have been the consequence of this ambitious project; and, therefore, the scheme was laid aside. Parliament, however, gave Cromwell the power of nominating a successor; and assigned him a perpetual revenue for the payment of his fleet and army.

The house having adjourned, Cromwell, to shew his indignation, deprived Lambert of all his commissions; and about the same time introduced at court his eldest son Richard, a most inoffensive character, who had kept aloof from civil affairs, and if he had ever discovered any activity, it was in acts of humanity and beneficence.

Parliament was again assembled, and the protector endeavoured to maintain the character

of

of a civil magistrate, by placing no guards at the door of either house; but he soon found how incompatible liberty is with a military usurpation, for an incontestable majority of the commons declared against him. Dreading combinations between the members and the malcontents in the army, he swore by the living God that they should not sit a moment longer, and instantly dissolved them. A. D. 1658.

The protector, however, was not inattentive to foreign affairs. The Spaniards were totally defeated at the battle of Dunes, by the combined armies of France and England, and Dunkirk being soon after surrendered, was delivered to Cromwell. The government of this important place he committed to Lockhart, a man of abilities, who had married his niece, and filled the place of his ambassador at the court of France.

These successes abroad were more than counterbalanced by his inquietudes at home. A conspiracy against him had been formed by the royalists and the presbyterians, which being discovered, numbers were thrown into prison, and Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Huet were condemned to lose their heads.

The turbulent disposition of the army could not be suppressed; and Fleetwood and his wife, notwithstanding their near connection with the usurper, began to estrange themselves from him. His other daughters were prejudiced in favour of the royal cause, and one of them, Mrs. Claypole, whom Cromwell tenderly loved, having died after a lingering illness, all composure of mind seemed now for ever fled from him. He saw nothing around him but treacherous friends or enraged enemies; and death, which he had so

often braved in the field, soon haunted him in every scene of business or repose. He never moved a step without guards; he wore armour under his clothes, and was continually changing his chamber, that it might not be known where he slept.

The contagion of his anxious mind soon began to affect his body. He was seized with a slow fever, which changing into a tertian ague, soon gave him cause to suspect danger. Casting his eyes towards that future existence, which though once familiar to him, had in some measure been obliterated by the hurry of affairs, he asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never suffer final reprobation? "Nothing more certain," replied the divine. "Then I am safe," said Cromwell, "for I am sure I was once in a state of grace."

He died on the third of September, a day which he had always considered as propitious to him, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. A violent storm which immediately succeeded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar; and by forced inferences was interpreted by his enemies and partisans according to their particular prejudices.

In private life, and in the various relations of a son, a husband, a father, and a friend, Cromwell rather merits praise than censure; and, upon the whole, his character was a compound of all the vices and all the virtues which spring from inordinate ambition and wild fanaticism.

Cromwell, though ignorant himself, was not insensible to literary merit. Usher, though a bishop, received a pension from him: Marvel and Milton were in his service; and Waller, who was his

his relation, was greatly caressed by him. The same age produced Cowley, Clarendon, and Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood.

CHAP. XVI.

The Reign of Charles II.

HAD Cromwell lived much longer, with all his policy it would have been impossible to have extended much longer his usurped administration; but when he was removed, the baseless fabric he had reared, was sure to tumble to pieces. A. D. 1658.

Richard his son possessed no qualities for government, except the virtues of private life; yet his succession was recognized by the council. His brother Henry, who governed Ireland with much popularity, ensured him the obedience of that kingdom; and Monk proclaimed the new protector in Scotland. Above ninety addresses congratulated Richard on his accession; and a parliament being called, all the commons at first signed an engagement not to alter the present government. A. D. 1659.

But there was another quarter from which greater dangers were justly apprehended. The most considerable officers of the army, with Fleetwood and Lambert at their head, were entering into cabals against Richard. The young protector, having neither resolution nor penetration, assented to permit the call of a general council of officers, and no sooner were they assembled, than they voted a remonstrance, in which *the good old cause*, as they termed it, was set off in the highest colours of panegyric, and its neglect lamented;

lamented; and as a remedy for past evils, they proposed that the whole military power should be entrusted to some person, in whom they might all confide.

Some of the partisans of Richard Cromwell proposed to put an end to these intrigues by the death of Lambert; but the protector declared he would not purchase power by such sanguinary measures. Parliament, however, interfered, and passed a vote, that there should be no general council of officers without the protector's consent, and this brought matters to a crisis. The officers hastened to Richard, and demanded the dissolution of the parliament, which being complied with, the protector, unable or unwilling to make a stand for power, soon after signed his own resignation in form. Not long after, Henry Cromwell, being endowed with the same moderate disposition as his brother, though he possessed very great power and influence in Ireland, quietly resigned his command, and retired to England.

Thus fell, at once, the protectorate house of Cromwell; but by a rare fortune it was not molested. Richard having burdened his estate to defray the expences of his father's funeral, travelled for some years, and then returning to England, lived to extreme old age; beloved for his social virtues, and happier in contentment and tranquillity than he could possibly have been, had he retained the splendid but dangerous boon, left him by his father.

The council of officers, in whom the supreme authority was now lodged, agreed to revive the long parliament. The members never exceeded seventy; but they took care, by their ambition, to

thwart the measures of the officers, and to subject Fleetwood, who was appointed lieutenant-general, to their control.

Mutual danger, however, both from the royalists and the presbyterians, kept the officers and parliament together for a time; and Fleetwood having routed sir George Booth, who had taken up arms in Cheshire, the jails were filled with the open or pretended enemies of parliament; and designs were formed of transporting the royalists to the West Indies, lest they should propagate children in England of the same malignant affections with themselves.

The army finding that parliament could not maintain its power without them, made bolder demands than ever, which could only be combated by feeble votes. Lambert drew together some troops in order to decide the controversy, and intercepting the members as they were coming to the house, sent them home under a military escort.

By this decisive measure, the officers were once more in possession of supreme authority; but in order to keep up appearances, they elected twenty-three persons, called *a committee of safety*, which they invested with a nominal supremacy. Throughout the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but melancholy fears of the bloody massacre of the nobility and gentry, and of perpetual servitude to the rest of the people.

But amidst the most gloomy prospects, Providence was preparing a way for the legitimate sovereign, to mount in peace the throne of his ancestors. General George Monk, to whose prudence and loyalty the restoration of the monarchy is chiefly to be ascribed, was the second

son

son of an honourable family in Devonshire, but somewhat gone to decay. He had early sought military experience, and was so popular among the soldiers, that they used to call him *honest George Monk*. During the civil wars he was remarkably moderate; and from the candour of his behaviour, he fell under suspicion of the royalists, and was suspended for a time. At the siege of Nantwich he was taken prisoner by Fairfax; and, being sent to the tower, during two years, suffered all the rigours of poverty and confinement, and it was not till after the total defeat of the king's army, that he recovered his liberty.

Monk, however much distressed, had always resisted the most inviting offers from the parliament; but Cromwell, who was sensible of his merit, having importuned him to engage in the wars against the Irish, who were equally rebels to the king and parliament, Monk was prevailed on to accept a command. He afterwards fought in Scotland, and on the reduction of that kingdom, was left with the supreme command. In this capacity, he proved equally agreeable both to the nation and the soldiery; and, foreseeing that the goodwill of the army might eventually be of great service to him, he cultivated their friendship with assiduity and success.

Hearing that Lambert was advancing northwards, Monk affected to treat with the committee of safety; but his object seems to have been to gain time. In fact, the nation was falling into anarchy: while Lambert's forces were assembling at Newcastle, Hazelrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth for the parliament, and admiral Lawson, entering the river,

declared on the same side. The city of London had established a kind of separate government within itself; and thus every thing was running into confusion, though the tide flowed in favour of parliament.

That assembly now took courage to revoke Lambert's commission, who, finding himself menaced by Monk in front, and in danger of being deserted by his own soldiers, suffered himself to be arrested, and committed to the tower.

Monk, who had now passed the Tweed, though informed of the restoration of parliament, continued to advance at the head of about six thousand men. During his march, he received various addresses, requesting he would assist in settling the nation; but he affected to pay little regard to them.

At length, having taken up his quarters in Westminster, without opposition, he was introduced into the house, and thanked for his services. His answer was couched in terms of great reserve. He said, he had only performed his duty; and that it remained with them to render still more important services to the nation, by summoning a full and free parliament, in order to effect a settlement, which all men seemed anxious to procure, after so many convulsions. He hinted, that application had been made to him for that purpose; but that he had referred the petitioners to parliament, who were the best judges of these measures.

A. D. 1660.

In a short time, however, the common-council of London having declared, that they would pay no more taxes, till a free parliament was called, parliament gave orders to Monk to march into the city,

city, and seize some of those who were most inimical to its sway. This order he hesitated not to execute with effect; but, soon reflecting, that by this action, he had broke through the general ambiguity of his character, and made himself the tool of a parliament which he detested, he wrote a letter to the house, requiring them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole commonwealth, to issue writs within a week for the filling of their assembly, and to fix the time for their own dissolution. He then marched with his army into the city, and having requested the mayor to summon a common-council, he apologised for his late measures, and desired that the city and army might mutually plight their faith for a strict union, in every thing that might conduce to the settlement of the commonwealth.

No words can describe the joy which this intelligence conveyed, and to prove his sincerity, he refused to receive a deputation from the parliament. He then excited the secluded members to enter the house, by which means a majority was formed, favourable to his views, and writs were issued for the immediate assembling of a new parliament.

Monk, however, still maintained an appearance of zeal for the commonwealth; but, at last, he was prevailed on by a gentleman of the name of Morris, the only person he consulted with, to allow sir John Granville to deliver a verbal message to the king, assuring him of his zeal, and desiring him to retire into Holland without delay.

The elections for the new parliament, by the union of the presbyterians and the royalists, went

went every where in favour of the king, and the same disposition prevailed in Ireland.

When parliament met, sir Harbottle Grimstone, a gentleman well-affected to the king's service, was chosen speaker, and the general, having sounded the inclinations of the assembly, gave directions to inform them that one sir John Granville, a servant of the king, was now at the door with a letter for the commons. He was ordered to be admitted with acclamation, and without one dissenting voice a committee was appointed to prepare an answer.

The king's declaration, which was instantly published and dispersed, was well calculated to augment the satisfaction, which the conduct of Monk had inspired. It offered a general amnesty, with such exceptions only as should be made by parliament; it promised liberty of conscience; and assured the soldiers of all their arrears, with a continuance of the same pay.

The lords, perceiving the spirit with which the kingdom, as well as the commons, were actuated, hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient authority; and, both houses attending, the king was proclaimed with great solemnity in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar. The commons voted a handsome gratuity to Granville, and a present of fifty thousand pounds to his majesty, with inferior sums for the dukes of York and Gloucester.

A committee of lords and commons was dispatched, to invite the king to return, and assume his crown. His majesty embarking at Scheveling, landed at Dover, and, on the 29th of May, which

which was also his birth-day, entered London, amidst the most joyful congratulations.

When Charles II. ascended the throne, he was thirty years of age. He possessed a vigorous constitution, a fine shape, a manly figure, and a graceful air, and, though his features were rather harsh, his general aspect was lively and engaging. No prince ever received a crown with the more cordial attachment of his people; and the ease and affability of his manners, were well calculated to confirm the popularity with which he was received.

In the choice of his ministers, he gave great satisfaction to the nation. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime minister; the duke of Ormond, was steward of the household; the earl of Southampton, high treasurer, and sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state. Admiral Montagu, who had carried a fleet to receive his majesty, without waiting for the sanction of parliament, was created earl of Sandwich, and general Monk, duke of Albemarle. No reward, indeed, could be too great for the services of the latter, who, without bloodshed and without confusion, had, by prudence and caution alone, effected such a revolution. Into the king's council, were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to their former distinctions; the presbyterians equally with the royalists.

All judicial proceedings during the interregnum were ratified by a new law; and the act of indemnity passing with little opposition, received the royal assent. The regicides, with Vane and Lambert, were alone excepted from pardon;

pardon; and a few were declared incapable of ever holding any office in the state.

The next business was the settlement of the king's revenue. They granted him one hundred thousand pounds a year, in lieu of the tenures of wards and liveries, and voted, that the settled revenue of the crown for all charges, should amount to the annual sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds; but, still jealous of liberty, they scarcely assigned sufficient funds for two thirds of that sum; and thus left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future consideration of parliament.

The trial and condemnation of the regicides, who were still alive, and could be found, now came on. Harrison, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, Scrope, Axtel, Hacker, Coke, and Hugh Peters, suffered with the confidence of martyrs: Lenthal, the speaker of the rump parliament, and the rest of the king's judges, were with unexampled lenity, reprieved, or escaped arraignment.

The king dissolved the parliament with a speech, full of the most gracious expressions; and by the urgent advice of Clarendon, consented to disband the army, except about one thousand horse, and four thousand foot. This was the first appearance of a regular standing army, under the monarchy, in this island.

Clarendon, now nearly allied to the royal family by the marriage of his eldest daughter, Anne Hyde, to the duke of York, by his wisdom, his justice, and his prudence, equally promoted the interest of the prince and the people; but, in his attachment to the religion of the establishment, he seems, in some measure, to have forgot the compact, by which his master was

 recalled.

recalled. Charles, having observed, that presbyterianism was not a religion for a gentleman, it was resolved to restore prelacy in Scotland; and Sharp, who had been commissioned by the presbyterians in Scotland, to manage their interests with the king, was persuaded to abandon his party, and, as a reward for his tergiversation, was created archbishop of St. Andrew's. This excited much discontent in Scotland; and the humiliation of that sect in the north, was soon followed by the persecution of their brethren in the south. An ineffectual conference had been held at the Savoy, in order to bring about an accommodation between those of the established church and the followers of presbytery; and the new parliament, which met about this time, laying hold of the prejudices which prevailed among the presbyterian sect, to eject them from their livings, required, that every clergyman who had not received episcopal ordination, should be re-ordained; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the book of common prayer; should abjure the solemn league and covenant; and should renounce the principle of taking arms against the king, on any pretence whatsoever. This act, and others which passed about the same time, have been the best supports of the state, by closely linking it with the church.

A. D. 1662.

Thus the king's promises of toleration and indulgence to tender consciences, were broken or eluded; but it is probable, that the catholics, rather than the presbyterians, were the persons principally aimed at by the zealous Clarendon, and the church party among the commons. About two thousand sectaries, however, in one day,

day, relinquished their cures, and sacrificed their interest to their principles. Soon after, the king was married to the princess Catherine of Portugal, with whom he received five hundred thousand pounds, and the two fortresses of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies, by way of dowry. This match, however, was far from proving auspicious; for the queen was never able to win the affections of her husband.

Amidst these transactions, the pecuniary distress of the king daily augmented; and, in order to raise money, as well as to save expences, Dunkirk was sold to France for four hundred thousand pounds. In this scheme, Clarendon concurred; and so little was the French king sensible of the value of his acquisition, that he thought he had made a hard bargain.

About this time, Charles issued a declaration, under pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the act of uniformity, to which he was doubtlessly induced by his prejudices in favour of popery; for, though in his gay and vigorous days, he had shown much indifference to all religion, it was evident, that he retained a secret propensity to the church of Rome, while his brother, the duke of York, had entered with zeal into all the principles of that theological party, and by his application to business, which the king disliked, had gained a great ascendancy over him. On pretence of easing the protestant dissenters, therefore, they agreed on a plan for introducing a general toleration, and giving the catholics the free exercise of their religion, at least in private houses.

Parliament, however, had wisdom enough to penetrate his designs; and, in order to deprive

A. D. 1663. the catholics of all hopes, the two houses concurred in a remonstrance against them. Charles, on this, not only dropped his project of indulgence, but issued a vague proclamation against priests and jesuits, and, in return for this compliance, he pressed the commons for a supply, who voted him four subsidies—the last time that taxes were levied in that manner.

The earl of Clarendon began to decline in favour about this time. His master's partiality for popery was always opposed by this minister, who, conscious of integrity and of honest services, disdained to prop his power by any adscititious means.

Though the nation had run from the extreme of fanaticism into a culpable degree of lukewarmness, it could not see with indifference Charles's irregular pleasnres, and the little regard he paid to decency in his public mistresses. In short, his conduct was freely scrutinized, and his character appreciated as it deserved. It was found, that his bounty proceeded rather from a facility of disposition, than from principle; that while he appeared affable to all, his heart was little capable of friendship; and, that he secretly entertained an unfavourable opinion of mankind, no proof of the rectitude of his own mind. But, what was most injurious to the king's reputation, was his suffering his own adherents, and those of his father, to remain in poverty and distress, aggravated by the cruel disappointment of their sanguine hopes, and by seeing favour and preferment bestowed on their most inveterate foes. The act of indemnity and oblivion was construed, and, in many cases, too justly,

justly, as an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

The loyalty of the parliament induced them to repeal the triennial act, and to content themselves with a clause, that parliaments should not be discontinued above three years at most. The commons likewise passed a vote, that the indignities offered to the English, by the subjects of the United States, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade. This paved the way to a Dutch war. Sir Robert Holmes was secretly dispatched with a squadron of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa, where he expelled the Dutch from cape Corfe, and seized their settlements at cape Verde and Goree. Then sailing to America, he possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York, which had been granted by patent to the earl of Stirling, in the reign of James I. but had never been planted except by the Hollanders.

When the Dutch complained of these hostile measures, the king pretended to deny that Holmes had any authority for his proceedings; but this evasion not satisfying them, they dispatched de Ruyter with a fleet, to retaliate on the English. This admiral not only recovered what had been lost, but took some of the old settlements belonging to the English. A. D. 1665.

After this, the Dutch in vain attempted to avert the horrors of war by negotiation. John de Witt, who then directed their measures, by his conduct and capacity, caused a fleet to be equipped, surpassing any that had ever sailed before from the ports of Holland. The English fleet consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail,

sail, and was commanded by the duke of York, and under him by prince Rupert, and the earl of Sandwich. Obdam, the Dutch admiral, had nearly an equal force, and on meeting, he declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the duke of York, Obdam's ship blew up.. This accident disconcerted the Dutch, and they fled towards their own coast, the son of the famous admiral Tromp gallantly protecting the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk or taken, the victors lost only one. In this action, the duke of York behaved with great bravery; the earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot at his side, and covered him with their brains and gore.

The declining courage of the Dutch was again revived by de Witt, who soon remedied all the disorders occasioned by the late misfortune; but his chief reliance was on the king of France, who, in conformity to treaty, was resolved to support the States in this unequal contest.

The English, however, had now a more dreadful calamity than war to contend with. The plague had carried off ninety thousand persons in London; and the king, to escape this awful visitation, was obliged to call a parliament at Oxford.

A. D. 1666. The king of France having ordered his admiral, the duke of Beaufort, to proceed with forty sail, to the support of his allies, that squadron was now supposed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, under the command of de Ruyter, to the number of seventy-six sail, was at sea, in order to join the French.

French. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which did not exceed seventy-four sail. Albemarle, consulting only his courage, dispatched prince Rupert with twenty ships, to oppose the duke of Beaufort; and with the remainder, set sail to give battle to the Dutch. Never did a more memorable engagement take place; whether we consider its long duration, or the desperate courage with which it was fought.

On the first day, the loss was nearly equal, and darkness parted the combatants: vice admiral sir William Berkeley fell on the side of the English, and admiral Evertz, on that of the Dutch. On the second day, during the action, the Dutch were joined by sixteen fresh ships, while the English had not more than twenty-eight in a situation for fighting. This induced Albemarle to draw towards the English coast, which he did with an undaunted countenance, protesting to the earl of Ossory, son of the duke of Ormond, that he would sooner blow up his ship than strike.

As the Dutch had come up to the English, and were about to renew the engagement, the squadron of prince Rupert was descried steering to the assistance of Albemarle. The battle now began afresh, and continued with great violence till suspended by a mist. The English retired first, into their own harbours.

De Ruyter now posted himself at the mouth of the Thames; but it was not long before Rupert and Albemarle approached to attack him. The engagement was again fierce and obstinate, and three Dutch admirals fell; but de Ruyter, though pressed on all sides, retained his station, till night ended the engagement.

Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered, he was obliged to submit to a retreat, which yet he conducted with so much skill, as to render it as honourable as any victory. "My God!" exclaimed he, "what a wretch I am? among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" The Dutch, by the greatest exertions, were saved in their harbours, and the English triumphantly scoured the seas without control.

But the joy arising from this victory was of short duration. A most dreadful fire broke out in London, which spreading, in spite of every endeavour to check its destructive progress, consumed four hundred streets and thirteen thousand houses. The popular prejudice ascribed this calamity to the catholics; but no proof appeared to support such a calumny, though it is sanctioned by the inscription, still remaining on the monument, that records the conflagration.

The Dutch still continuing to make the most vigorous resistance, Charles began to be sensible, that all the ends for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove abortive. This induced him to make overtures of accommodation, which were readily listened to; and so nearly was the treaty concluded, that he imprudently discontinued his preparations.

The penetrating mind of de Witt saw the opportunity for retrieving the honour of his country, and he embraced it. The Dutch fleet, under de Ruyter, appeared in the Thames, and bursting the chain which had been drawn across the Medway, advanced as far as Upnore castle, and burnt several ships. They next attempted Portsmouth, insulted Harwich, and had they

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been supported by the French, the most serious consequences might have ensued. The signing of the treaty of Breda, however, saved England from this danger; and the acquisition of New-York, was the principal advantage which this country reaped from the war in which it had been engaged.

Some sacrifice was necessary to appease the people for their disappointments; and the chancellor became the victim. His sale of Dunkirk was remembered; and as he had engaged in building beyond what his ostensible finances would allow, he was exposed to public reproach, as if he had acquired riches by corruption, though nothing of this kind was ever proved against him.

The king, indeed, who had always revered rather than loved him, was glad to be freed from such a minister, who did not permit his master's licentious pleasures to pass without reprehension. The great seal was given to sir Orlando Bridgman.

The duke of York in vain exerted his interest in behalf of his father. An impeachment was voted against him by the commons; and Clarendon, finding that neither his innocence nor his past services were sufficient to protect him, withdrew to the continent, where he lived six years, after his banishment was decreed, and employed his leisure in reducing to order the history of the civil war, for which he had before collected materials. This performance does honour to his memory.

In Scotland the king, from his aversion to business, had entrusted his affairs to his ministers. These, particularly Middleton, made a very

very improper use of their authority; for a letter being intercepted from lord Lorne to lord Duffus, in which he complained that his enemies had endeavoured, by falsehood, to prepossess the king against him, the noble writer was tried on an old tyrannical and absurd law against leasing making, or in plain English, telling falsities, and being convicted, was condemned to die, but afterwards pardoned.

Many other similar instances of violence occurred; but the chief circumstance, from which were derived all the subsequent tyranny and disorders in Scotland, was the execution of the laws for the establishment of episcopacy. Above one third of the livings in the kingdom, were at once declared vacant for nonconformity in the incumbents; and as new ministers were to be searched for and appointed, neither profligacy nor ignorance was a bar to preferment.

Charles, at length disgusted with the violence of Middleton, recalled him, and made Rothes commissioner in his place. Lauderdale still continued secretary of state for Scotland, and commonly resided at London.

Affairs now went on with some degree of quietness, till a severe law was made in England against conventicles: the Scottish parliament passed one with similar provisions, and such disorders arose in consequence, that military force was obliged to be employed. Several fell in the conflict: but though the insurgents were soon suppressed, the spirit that actuated them was not evaporated.

The settlement of Ireland, after the restoration, was a work of great difficulty. To the numerous loyalists, who had been expelled by Cromwell,

Cromwell, some recompence was due; and to enable Charles to make it, besides the unappropriated lands in Ireland, the soldiers and adventurers were prevailed on, by the duke of Ormond, to relinquish one third of their possessions, which effected a kind of temporary tranquillity.

Since the restoration, the king had been in continual want of a supply from the parliament; and though they had been much more liberal to him than his predecessor, his dissipated pleasures rendered all ineffectual. Charles, however, had again recourse to them, when the commons, besides some votes and grants, passed a law, empowering him to sell the fee-farms rents, the last remains of the demesnes, by which the ancient kings of England had been supported. By this expedient, he probably procured upwards of a million sterling.

A. D. 1669.

The king's councils, which had always been negligent and fluctuating, now became actually criminal. Men of honour and integrity were excluded from any deliberations; and the whole secret of government was entrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, called the CABAL, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compose. These men were notorious for their bad principles in public and private life; and when armed with so much power, they became truly dangerous.

By the dark counsels of the cabal, the king was inspired with a jealousy of parliaments, and they insinuated, that it would be for his interest to break the triple alliance, not long before concluded between him, Holland and Sweden,

Sweden, and form a close intimacy with France. This nefarious scheme had for some time been suspected by de Witt; but till sir William Temple was recalled, a man in whose honour he justly confided, there was no overt act by which it could be proved.

About the same time, Blood, a disbanded officer of the protector's, who had been attainted for an attempt to surprise the castle of Dublin, meditated revenge on the duke of Ormond, whom he seized in the midst of London, but who was rescued by his servants. Soon after, Blood conceived a plan still more daring, which was to carry off the crown and regalia from the tower, and in this enterprise he was very near succeeding. Being secured, however, and examined, he refused to name his accomplices. "The fear of death," said he, "shall never force me, either to deny a guilt, or betray a friend." Struck with the report of his conduct, the king desired to see him. Blood now made sure of a pardon; and in order to show that he deserved it, he pretended that he had been engaged with others in a design to shoot his majesty, but that his heart had been checked with awe in the moment of execution. He added, that he belonged to a confederacy, which had bound themselves by the strictest oaths to avenge the death of any one of their associates. Whether Charles was influenced by fear, or admiration, he pardoned the villain, and granted him an estate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland, while Edwards, the keeper of the regalia, who had been wounded in defence of his charge, was forgotten and neglected.

The king, who eagerly watched an opportunity

to break with the Dutch, and had already squandered away the money which parliament had granted him, without venturing to assemble them to ask for more, dropped a hint, that the staff of treasurer was ready for any one who could devise means to supply his present necessities. Ashley, still more unprincipled than his master, suggested the expedient of shutting up the exchequer, and retaining all the payments which should be made into it.* In violation of every rule of right or justice, this plan was adopted, and Ashley gained an office and a peerage, for what ought to have brought him to the gallows. This man was soon after promoted to the great seal.

This breach of domestic honour was followed by foreign transactions, of a similar complexion. On the most frivolous pretences, war was declared against Holland, which was seconded by another declaration from Lewis XIV.

To oppose this formidable confederacy, de Witt exerted himself to the utmost; but his merits had begotten envy, and the popular

* It should be observed, that bankers used to carry their money to the exchequer, and advance it upon the security of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimbursed, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight per cent, or more, for sums which had either been assigned to them without interest, or which they borrowed at six per cent; profits which they paid dearly for, by this egregious breach of public faith. A general confusion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. Distrust every where took place, with a stagnation of commerce, by which the public was universally affected; and men, full of the most dismal apprehensions, were at a loss to account for such unprecedented and iniquitous counsels.

 opinion

opinion strongly leaned in favour of William, prince of Orange, then about twenty-two years old, who had been trained up by de Witt himself, and was now brought forward as his rival.

The struggle between the two factions, retarded every measure; however, a raw army of seventy thousand men was at last drawn together, and the prince was appointed both general and admiral of the commonwealth; but his partisans were still unsatisfied, because the *perpetual edict* remained in force, by virtue of which he was excluded from the stadtholderate.

De Witt, however, with the true spirit of patriotism, forgot little competitions, and pushed on the naval preparations of his country. De Ruyter, who was strongly attached to him, commanded the Dutch fleet, which consisted of ninety-five ships of war, and forty-four fire-ships. With these he surprised in Solebay, the combined fleets of France and England. The earl of Sandwich had, in vain, warned the duke of York of his danger, and his foresight had been attributed to fear; but, when the enemy appeared in sight, he alone, with the squadron under his command, was prepared for action. The hasty reflection that had been thrown on him, he wiped off by the most gallant behaviour, and, after having sunk three fire-ships, which endeavoured to grapple with him, and seen six hundred out of one thousand men, lying dead on the deck, a fourth fire-ship laid hold of his vessel, and her destruction was inevitable. His captain advised him to retire; but he preferred death to the appearance of deserting his post.

During this fierce engagement with Sandwich,

wich, de Ruyter attacked the duke of York, who fought with such fury for above two hours, that, though the Dutch admiral had been in thirty-two actions, he declared, this was the most severe. The duke's ship was so shattered, that he was obliged to shift his flag. Night, at last, divided the combatants. The Dutch retired, and the English were not in a capacity to follow. The loss on both sides was nearly equal.

By land, however, the contest was less doubtful. Louis, having invaded Holland, overran that country almost without opposition. Amsterdam alone, seemed to retain some courage. The sluices were opened, and the neighbouring country was laid under water. All the provinces now followed the same example, and scrupled not, in this extremity, to restore to the sea those fertile fields which had formerly been won from it.

The combined potentates, finding that the enemy was driven to desperation, attempted to draw over the prince of Orange, who, in consequence of the murder of de Witt, had gained the whole ascendancy in public affairs, to their lure, and made him the most splendid offers; but, faithful to his engagements, he generously spurned at their proposals; and, when Buckingham urged the inevitable destruction that hung over the United Provinces, and asked him, whether he did not see that the commonwealth was ruined: "There is one certain means," replied the prince, "by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin: I will die in the last ditch."

By degrees the Dutch began to recover themselves a little. Groningen for a time stopped

the progress of invasion; and the emperor, who was alarmed at the successes of France, put himself in motion. Spain, also, sent some troops to the assistance of the States; but their chief reliance was on the English parliament, which could not be brought to approve of the rupture with Holland, or of the alliance with France. They granted, indeed, a supply; but at the same time they proceeded to state grievances, and to ask redress. The king, unwilling to break with the commons, accorded their wishes; and Shaftesbury, perceiving his danger, in case those concessions should be desired, joined the cabals of the country party, who received him with open arms.

The money granted by parliament served to equip a fleet, of which prince Rupert was declared admiral. Three different, but indecisive actions were fought at sea; the last was the most obstinate. In it the brave sir Edward Spragge lost his life; and on no occasion did Rupert gain more deserved honour: his conduct, as well as his valour, shone out with signal lustre. Had the French supported him, the victory must have been decisive.

By land the prince of Orange displayed uncommon skill and bravery; and the Dutch having received very powerful aid from the Imperialists, Louis was obliged to abandon his conquests with greater rapidity than he made them.

The parliament of England being again assembled, discovered greater symptoms of jealousy than before, and remonstrated against a marriage, which the duke of York, who had some time been a widower, was negotiating with

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a catholic princess of the house of Modena. Several changes took place in the ministry about the same time, which were somewhat in favour of the nation; but the duke having concluded the proposed match, and the war with Holland being more unpopular than ever, Charles found that it would be impossible to obtain any more supplies, while the present measures were pursued. Yielding, therefore, to necessity, he resolved on a separate peace, which was negotiated under the Spanish ambassador; and was concluded on terms honourable to England, as well as to the great joy of the people.

A. D. 1674.

Charles, now at peace himself, offered his mediation to the belligerent powers. This being accepted, he sent sir William Temple as his ambassador to Holland; but this veteran statesman soon found that the scheme of mediating a peace would prove abortive, while such extravagant terms were insisted on by all parties concerned. With various turns of fortune, the war therefore continued to be carried on; and the English, though now spectators in the quarrel, could not help regarding the passing events with extreme anxiety.

A. D. 1675.

Parliament continued to view the measures of government with much jealousy, which was increased by a bill introduced into the house of peers, by the earl of Lindesey, the object of which was, to oblige the members of both houses, and all who possessed any office, to declare, that it was unlawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king, and that they would not at any time endeavour any alteration in the established government, either in church or state.

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This was debated for seventeen days, and carried only by two voices in the house of peers. In the commons it was likely to meet with still more opposition; but a quarrel arising between the two houses, respecting a breach of privilege, in the person of sir John Tagg, the king, to put an end to the altercation, judged it expedient to prorogue the parliament to a distant term.

The belligerent powers being by this time tired of war, began to turn their attention to peace; and accordingly a congress met at Nimeguen, to which most of them sent plenipotentiaries. It was hoped that Charles would have promoted this by his influence; but he had actually, in secret, sold his neutrality to France; and, though he was aware that, while the war continued, he should enjoy no tranquillity at home, he could not bring himself to take an open part in the negotiation.

A.D. 1677. Parliament again assembling, after an adjournment of more than a year, the king met them with strong professions of future œconomy, and a wish to sanction whatever laws they might think necessary for the security of religion and property. At first, they proceeded with some degree of temper, and voted a considerable sum for the increase of the navy; but, hearing of the defeat of the prince of Orange, by marshal Luxemburgh, and of the capture of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, by Louis, they immediately addressed the king, representing the danger to which England was exposed from the increasing greatness of France. This not meeting with the attention desired, they enforced their application by voting an address, wherein they besought his majesty to enter

enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the United States, against the growth and power of the French king, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, and to make such other alliances with the confederates as should appear fit and useful to that end.

On these conditions they promised him effectual supplies; but Charles, considering this address as a dangerous encroachment on his prerogative, in great anger adjourned both houses.

Had not the king been privately sold to France, this was the critical moment in which he might have preserved the balance of power in Europe, and ingratiated himself with his subjects; but by his temporising expedients he lost the glorious opportunity. In order, however, to do something grateful to the nation, he encouraged proposals of marriage from the prince of Orange to the princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York, who had no male issue, and who was consequently heir apparent at that time to the crown, after her father.

Preliminaries to this effect being adjusted, the king very graciously received his nephew, the prince of Orange, at Newmarket, and in a short time he was married to the princess, who was extremely amiable both in her person and manners. This match gave infinite satisfaction to all parties; but, notwithstanding the double tie by which Charles was now bound to consult the interests of the States General, nothing could detach him from the French alliance; and, though he found it necessary to be cautious, he forebore to urge any thing injurious to the views of Louis.

After various negotiations and counter-negotiations, a treaty of general peace was at last signed at Nimeguen, where a congress had long sat, by which Frauce secured the possession of Franchecomté, and several towns in the Netherlands.

A strong spirit of indignation existed among the English against their sovereign, whose supineness and irresolution had suffered Louis to make such important acquisitions. In Scotland, too, religious differences ran high: conventicles multiplied in the west; and the clergy of the established church were frequently insulted. To repress the rising spirit of presbyterianism, a new parliament had been assembled at Edinburgh, some years before, to which Lauderdale was deputed as commissioner; but, though he had sufficient influence to get some acts passed which were extremely favourable to the prerogative, the severity with which he acted against the covenanters, raised up a party against him, of which duke Hamilton was the head.

In fact, both the language and the conduct of Charles daily tended to increase the prejudices and suspicions of his subjects. Arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the scope of all his designs; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that the nation gave credit to every report against the catholics.

One Kirby, a chemist, informed the king, that there was a design against his life; that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to shoot him; and sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. This intelligence, he said, he had from a restless divine, doctor Tongue, who, being examined, declared to

to the treasurer, Danby, that the papers exposing the conspiracy, had been thrust under his door.

This wild and incoherent account would probably have been soon consigned to oblivion, had not the duke of York, on learning that his confessor's name was implicated in the business, insisted on a regular inquiry being instituted. It was now found that Kirby and Tongue lived in strict intimacy with a person named Titus Oates, who pretended to know more of the matter, and who judged it proper to give evidence before sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, an active magistrate, before he attended the council, in hopes that his declaration would obtain more notoriety, and entitle him to more reward.

The intelligence of Oates tended to this purport, that the pope having assumed the sovereignty of England and Ireland, on account of the heresy of the prince and people, had delegated his authority to the jesuits, whose general had supplied by commissions all the chief offices, both civil and military.

It would be useless to enter into all the details of this pretended plot; suffice it to say, that Oates the informer was one of the most infamous of mankind; and that, before the council, he betrayed his impostures in such a manner, as would have discredited the most consistent story, and the most reputable evidence.

Notwithstanding this, the plot very soon became the source of terror to the people; and Danby, out of opposition to the French interest, rather encouraged the story; and by his suggestions, one Coleman, who had been secretary to the late duchess of York, and was implicated in this affair, was ordered to be arrested.

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Among his papers were found some very free remarks relative to the sentiments and principles of the king; and people taking this for a confirmation of the truth of Oates's story, confounded a business, which had no relation to it, with the originally hatched conspiracy.

The murder of sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, which never was accounted for, completed the general delusion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation absolutely incurable. The funeral of this magistrate, who was found lying in a ditch near Primrose-hill, with his sword sticking in his body, like the exhibition of Cæsar's wounds, served to inflame the people against the catholics, who were suspected to have been guilty of this atrocity, in order to stifle evidence, to a degree of dangerous fury.

While the nation was in this ferment, the parliament was assembled. The king, in his speech, scarcely adverted to the plot about which so much had been said; but Danby, who courted popularity, laid open the matter to the house of peers. Charles, incensed at his temerity, observed, "Though you do not believe it, you will find that you have given the parliament a handle to ruin yourself, and to disturb all my affairs: you will surely live to repent it."

Danby had sufficient reason, in the sequel, to applaud the sagacity of his master. The cry of the plot was echoed from one house to the other; a solemn fast was voted; and addresses passed for the removal of the popish recusants from London. Lords Powis, Strafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellasis, were impeached for high treason; and both houses, after hearing the evidence of Oates, voted, "That the lords and commons

commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating the king, for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the protestant religion."

Oates was applauded and caressed, and encouraged by a pension of 1200 pounds a year. Such bounty brought forth new witnesses. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next on the stage. At first he confined his intelligence to Godfrey's murder, which, he said, had been perpetrated in Somerset-house, where the queen lived, by the papists. He soon after enlarged his information, by accusing several persons of consequence, of having joined in a popish plot; and though he grossly contradicted himself, the nation was determined to believe every thing advanced.

Charles saw the torrent was too strong to be resisted. A bill had been brought into parliament for a new test, in which popery was denominated idolatry; and all the members of both houses, who refused this test, were to be excluded. The duke of York, in the most pathetic manner, moved, that an exception might be admitted in his favour; protesting, that whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul, and never should appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding this appeal, he prevailed only by two voices.

The ferment both in and out of parliament was soon increased by the treachery of Montague, who had been ambassador at Paris. He presented to the house of commons, of which he

was a member, a letter from the treasurer, Danby, counter-signed by the king, in which the most palpable proofs of Charles's disgraceful intrigues with the French court were laid open. Danby was immediately impeached by the commons; but the peers refused to commit him; and the quarrel rose to such a height between the two houses, that the king thought it adviseable, first to prorogue, and then dissolve them.

The want of money compelled Charles to summon a new parliament, but being soon alarmed at their refractory disposition, in order to appease his people and the parliament, he desired the duke of York to withdraw beyond sea, that no farther suspicion of popish counsels might remain. The duke readily complied, on obtaining an order for this purpose from the king, lest it should be supposed he fled from fear, and a promise that he would satisfy him as well as the public, in regard to the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth, a natural son of the king's by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration.

A. D. 1679.

This nobleman possessed all the qualities that could engage the affections of the people; and of proportion as the duke of York was the object in hatred on account of his religion, his nephew became more and more beloved; nor were there wanting officious friends, who encouraged him to hope that a contract of marriage had passed between the king and his mother, and that, in consequence, he had strong pretensions to the crown. Charles, however, to put an end to all intrigues of this kind, as well as to remove the duke of York's apprehensions, in full council made

made a declaration of Monmouth's illegitimacy, on which York cheerfully complied with the king's desire, and retired to Brussels.

Parliament, however, was still jealous and dissatisfied. The impeachment of Danby was revived, and the king, in order to screen his minister, granted him a full pardon; but it was pretended that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment, and so resolute was parliament in support of its pretensions, that Danby was committed a close prisoner to the tower.

To prevent a bill of absolute exclusion against the duke, which was projected, Charles concerted some limitations, which deprived the successor, if a papist, of the chief branches of royalty; but these concessions were rejected by the influence of Shaftesbury, who had united himself to the popular party; and a bill was brought in, declaring that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's death or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession after the duke; and that all who supported his title should be deemed rebels and traitors. This important bill passed the lower house by a majority of 79.

About the same time the standing army, and the king's guards, were voted by the commons to be illegal; and that bulwark of personal and national liberty, the *habeas corpus* act, which provided against arbitrary imprisonment, passed the same session.

Meanwhile the impeachment of the five popish lords, and that of the earl of Danby, was carried on with vigour; but a dispute arising between the two houses about allowing the bishops

to vote on the trial of Danby, furnished the king with a pretext of dissolving the parliament.

This vigorous measure disappointed all the projects of the malcontents; but even the recess of parliament afforded no interruption to the prosecution of the catholics accused of the plot. On the most incoherent and doubtful evidence, Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwic, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt were condemned and executed; and it was not till the trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, that the informers received a check. This gentleman was acquitted; and an indelible stain was fixed on Oates, Bedloe, and their abettors.

The discontents in England were communicated to Scotland; and an incident there roused the Scottish covenanters from their inactivity. A company of the latter had waylaid, with an intention to kill, one Carmichael, an officer of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, who had rendered himself obnoxious by his severity. At the instant they were looking for their prey, the archbishop himself passed by in his coach, and interpreting this incident as a declaration of the secret purpose of Providence against him, without farther deliberation they dragged him from his coach, and piercing him with many wounds, left him dead on the spot, and dispersed.

This atrocious action gave rise to a violent persecution against the covenanters; who now, inflamed by oppression, met to celebrate their worship with arms in their hands; and having gained some partial successes, they made themselves masters of Glasgow, dispossessed the established clergy, and issued proclamations, declaring

declaring that they fought against the king's supremacy, against popery and prelacy, and against a popish successor.

The king, apprehensive of the consequences of this insurrection, dispatched Monmouth into Scotland, with a small body of English cavalry. That nobleman being joined by some native troops, marched with celerity against the enemy, who had taken post near Bothwell castle. Their numbers never exceeded eight thousand, and being without officers and experience, they were speedily routed, with the loss of seven hundred killed, and one thousand two hundred taken prisoners. Monmouth treated these with great humanity, and an act of indemnity was soon after passed.

When the popular discontents had spent themselves, for want of fresh fuel, Charles, by his amiable manners and address, found means to strengthen his party; and happening to fall ill at Windsor, such an affectionate regard was shewn him, that, to use an expression of sir William Temple's, the king's death was regarded as the end of the world. The duke of York had been privately sent for; but when he arrived, the king was out of danger. The journey, however, was attended with important consequences. He prevailed on the king to disgrace Monmouth, whose machinations were now known and avowed; and he obtained leave himself to retire into Scotland, on pretence of quieting the apprehensions of the English, but in reality with a view of securing his interest in that kingdom.

A. D. 1679.

About this time several new changes took place

place in the cabinet; for the king was equally unsteady with regard to men and measures. Hyde, Sunderland, and Godolphin seemed at present to possess his chief confidence.

From the encouragement which had been given to informers, the nation had got into a vein of credulity; and one Dangerfield, a fellow of notoriously infamous character, was the author or denouncer of a new plot, called the *meal tub plot*, from the place in which some papers relative to it were found. This affair is equally as mysterious as those which preceded it. It only appears, that Dangerfield, under pretence of betraying the conspiracies of the presbyterians, had been countenanced by some catholics of condition, and had even gained admission to the duke of York. Which side he originally intended to cheat is uncertain; but finding the nation more inclined to believe in a popish than a presbyterian plot, he fell in with the prevailing humour.

A. D. 1680. The duke of Monmouth returning without leave, served to renew the fermentation. The crown was attacked by tumultuous petitions: those who supported the throne were called *abhorrers*, from expressing their deepest *abhorrence* of popular encroachments, and the opposite party was denominated petitioners. This is the epoch too of the epithet, WHIG and TORY,* which have been bandied about for more than

* The court party reproached their antagonists with resembling the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who had obtained the appellation of *whigs*; and the country party, on the other hand, found a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the term of *tory* was affixed. Hence the origin of those two prostituted words.

than a century with little appropriate meaning, but frequently to the injury both of individuals and the public.

Charles finding the nation inveterate against popery, affected great zeal the same way; but his artifice did not wholly succeed. The city of London took the lead, in opposition to the court; and Shaftesbury, who by turns was a whig and a tory, as it best suited his views, appearing in Westminster hall, attended by several persons of distinction, presented to the grand jury of Middlesex reasons for indicting the duke of York, as a popish recusant. This business, however, was quashed; but Shaftesbury obtained the end for which he had undertaken this bold measure: he proved to his followers that there could be no future accommodation or composition with the duke, after such a step.

After a long interval, the king resolved to assemble the parliament. In his speech he strongly urged the advantages of unanimity; and ended with an assurance, that if any disputes arose, the world should have no reason to say that the fault was his. All these mollifying expressions, however, had no effect on the commons, who proceeded in their former career, and seemed bent on renewing the bill for excluding the duke of York from the succession; while a party hoped by this step to advance the interest of the duke of Monmouth. But Charles was determined to preserve the right of succession inviolable; and though the bill passed the commons by a great majority, all the influence of the court being exerted in the house of peers against it, the courtiers prevailed, after a long and a violent debate.

Frustrated in this darling object, the commons vented their spleen, by resuming the prosecution of the popish plot. The impeachment of the catholic peers, began with that of viscount Stafford, who from age and infirmites, being least able to defend himself, became the first victim. In his last moments he protested, that the only treason of which he had ever been guilty, had been entering into schemes for procuring a mitigation of the penal laws against catholics. The populace, who had exulted at his trial and condemnation, were melted into tears at the tender fortitude he displayed on the scaffold. This was the last blood that was shed on account of the popish plot; but the commons still found new occasions to exercise their talents against the court. The king, seeing that no concessions, short of giving his assent to the exclusion bill, would satisfy them, came to a resolution of proroguing them; but the house having got intelligence of his design a few minutes before it was put in execution, in the most tumultuous manner passed a string of votes, which vitally attacked the legal and undoubted prerogatives of a king of England.

Soon after this session was closed, Charles summoned a new parliament, and in order to avoid those tumults, which attended their assembling at Westminster, he directed them to meet at Oxford. Against this, Monmouth and fifteen peers protested, on the pretence that the persons of the members would be in danger there, from the papists and their adherents. These insinuations inflamed the people still more; and the assembly at Oxford, from the number of servants and retainers which each of the popular

pular leaders brought with him, resembled more a Polish diet, than an English parliament.

The commons, consisting nearly of the same individuals as before, fell instantly into the same measures. The impeachment of Danby, the inquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion, were renewed with greater acrimony than ever. So violent were they on this last article, that no expedient, however plausible, could be hearkened to. One of the king's ministers had even proposed that the duke should be banished five hundred miles from England, and, on the king's demise, the next heir should be constituted regent with regal power; but, though this would have left the duke of York the bare title of a king, it failed to satisfy the opposition.

Charles, seeing it impossible to manage the parliament, without sacrificing his brother, now resolved to depend on economy and retrenchments, instead of asking for fresh supplies.

The wisdom and moderation of the duke of Ormond, had, for some years, kept Ireland in tranquillity; but England and Scotland were still agitated to the centre. The tools that had been employed by Shaftesbury, now turned against him; and he was accused by Tuberville and others, of high treason. The draught of an association against popery and the duke, was found in his cabinet; and dangerous inferences might be drawn from many clauses of that paper; but it did not appear, that Shaftesbury either framed it, or approved of it. The grand jury, therefore, weighing all circumstances, rejected the indictment, and the populace were loud in their expressions of joy at his deliverance.

In

In Scotland, however, a nobleman, far less obnoxious, became the victim of oppression. The earl of Argyle, who, from his youth, had been distinguished for his loyalty, and had met with several marks of the king's favour, being called upon to take the test which asserted the king's supremacy, added, "as far as it is consistent with itself, and the protestant religion." For this salvo, a warrant was issued for committing him to prison; and, innocent as the words were, for them he was condemned for high treason, leasing-making, and perjury. The execution of the sentence, however, was suspended; but all his estates were confiscated, and, with difficulty, he escaped to the continent with his life.

A. D. 1682. As Charles no longer dreaded the clamours of the country-party, he permitted his brother to pay him a visit in England. The ship, in which the duke embarked with his family and attendants from Scotland, having struck on a sand-bank, was lost; but he escaped, with a few of his party, in the barge. While many persons of rank and quality were drowning, and, among the rest, Hyde, his brother-in-law, it is said, he was very clamorous to save the dogs and the priests, two species of favourites which some think naturally coupled together

By an unwarrantable stretch of power, two sheriffs, Nath and Rich, were chosen in the city, on account of their devotion to the court; but, as the contest might be renewed annually, Charles determined to make himself master at once, not only of the city, but of all the corporations in England. A writ of *quo warranto*

*ranto** was issued against the city, on account of some irregularities in its proceedings several years before, and sentence was pronounced against it. The king, on petition, however, agreed to restore the citizens their charter; but, in return, they were obliged to submit to the subsequent regulations: That no mayor, sheriff, recorder, common sergeant, town-clerk, or coroner, should be admitted to the exercise of his office, without his majesty's approbation: that if the king disapprove twice of the mayor, or sheriffs elected, he may, by commission, appoint those magistrates; that the mayor and court of aldermen may, with his majesty's leave, displace any magistrate; and that an alderman, in case of a vacancy, shall be elected without the consent of the court of aldermen, who, if they disapprove twice of the choice, may fill the vacancy. All the corporations in England, from this precedent, saw how ineffectual it would be to contend, and, therefore, most of them were induced to surrender their charters into the king's hands. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring the charters; and all offices of power or profit, by the restrictions introduced, were now left at the disposal of the crown. This was one of the most violent infractions of liberty that had ever taken place; and will remain an everlasting monument of the arbitrary principles of Charles. Most of the charters then granted, still remain in force.

A. D. 1683.

It was at this juncture, however, that a plan of resistance was, in reality, concerted. The

* That is, an inquiry into the validity of its charter.

duke

duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, and lord Gray, solicited, not only the capital, but the nobility and gentry of several counties, to rise in arms and oppose the succession of the duke. The whole train was ready to take fire; but was prevented by the caution of lord Russel, who, in opposition to Shaftesbury, the prime mover, induced Monmouth to delay the enterprise. Shaftesbury could ill brook timid counsels, and, soon despairing of success, withdrew to Holland, where he soon after paid the debt of nature, little regretted by his friends, or noticed by his enemies.

At last, a regular project of insurrection was formed. The council consisted of Monmouth, Russel, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson to the great parliamentary leader. These men had entered into a negotiation with Argyle, and the Scottish malcontents, who engaged to bring the covenanters into the field. The conspirators, however, differed widely in their views. Sidney and Essex were for a republic, Monmouth had a design on the crown for himself; and Russel and Hampden, attached to the ancient constitution, wished only a redress of grievances, and the exclusion of the duke of York. Howard was a man ready to embrace any principle; but, discordant as they seemed in their aims, all united in a common hatred against the heir apparent.

While these schemes were concerting among the leaders, an inferior plot was carrying on by a number of conspirators, none of whom had any access to Monmouth and the cabal of six, except colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer, and a person of the name of Ferguson. These persons indulged in the most criminal discourse; and,

and, among other plans, proposed to assassinate Charles in his way from Newmarket; but the house in which the king lived there, happening to take fire, obliged him to leave that place earlier than he intended, and thus the execution of the design was prevented.

At length, Keiling, one of the conspirators, being under a criminal prosecution, in hopes of saving his life, betrayed his associates to secretary Jenkins. Search being made after the conspirators, colonel Rumsey, and West, a lawyer, finding the dangers to which they were exposed, surrendered themselves, and turned evidence. The links of the conspiracy were now traced to the nobles, who had engaged in a different scheme: Monmouth absconded; Russel was sent to the Tower; Gray was arrested, but escaped; and Howard, a profligate man, being taken, in hopes of pardon and reward, revealed the whole plot. Essex, Sidney, and Hampden, were immediately apprehended; and some of the inferior conspirators being convicted, paid the forfeit of their lives.

The trial of lord Russel, a nobleman illustrious for his virtues, and highly popular, now commenced, against whom Rumsey, Sheppard, and lord Howard appeared. It was proved that an insurrection had been resolved on, and the surprisal of the king's guards taken into consideration by the prisoner: but still with regard to law, there remained an important difficulty. By an act passed after the restoration, it was indeed declared treason to consult on a rebellion during Charles's lifetime; but then it was required, that prosecution should be commenced within six months of the commis-

 sion

sion of the crime. The facts sworn to by Rumsey and Sheppard were beyond that period; and to the other circumstances, Howard was the only witness, though the law of Edward III. provided, that there should be two in trials for treason.

Russel perceived this irregularity, and desired to have the point argued by counsel; but the artificial confounding of two species of treason prevented him from gaining any thing by this plea. His veracity would not allow him to deny the conspiracy for an insurrection; but he solemnly protested that he had never entertained any design against the life of the king. The jury, however, after a short deliberation brought him in guilty.

The strongest applications, reinforced by the most liberal offers of money to court favourites, were made by his father, the earl of Bedford, to save his life; but the king was inexorable.

Lady Russel, daughter and heir of the earl of Southampton, a woman of the most exalted merit, threw herself at the king's feet, and pleaded the services of her father as an atonement for the error of her husband. Her tears and entreaties too being neglected, she summoned up all the fortitude of her soul, and even endeavoured by her example, to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent composure, they took leave of each other, on the day of his execution. "The bitterness of death is now past," said he, as he turned from her. Lord Cavendish, who was strongly attached to Russel, deserted not his friend on this trying occasion; he even offered to manage his escape by changing clothes with him,

him, and running all hazards in his place. Monmouth too by a message, declared his readiness to surrender himself, if that was likely to avail his unfortunate associate. "It will be no advantage to me," said Russel, "to have my friends die with me."

To the last, he maintained the same dignified composure, the same good humoured equanimity which had distinguished him through life; and, as he was the most popular among his own party, and admired for his virtues even by the opposite faction, his melancholy fate united every heart, sensible of humanity, in a tender compassion for him.

Algernon Sidney, the apostle of liberty, was next brought to trial. He had been deeply implicated in the civil wars, but a republic was his idol, and a king, or a protector, was equally the object of his aversion. Charles, however, had pardoned him for the part he took against his father; but now, having engaged in a new conspiracy, he was condemned to die, perhaps, not unjustly, but certainly illegally.

Howard was again the only witness against him; but as the law required two, a singular expedient was found to supply the deficiency. Among the prisoner's papers, were found some discourses on government, in which he maintained principles, favourable indeed to liberty, but such as could not have infringed any positive law, even had they been published. These papers, however, were said to be equivalent to a second witness; and the violent and inhuman judge Jefferies, easily prevailed on a prejudiced jury to give a verdict against Sidney. He died

glorying in the "good old cause," in which from his youth, he said he had enlisted himself.

As not even the shadow of a second witness, could be found against Hampden, he was only indicted for a misdemeanour, and the exorbitant fine of forty thousand pounds imposed on him.

On the day that Russel was tried, Essex, a man eminent for virtue and abilities, was found in the Tower, with his throat cut. Whether he fell by his own hands or otherwise, has never been clearly ascertained.

A. D. 1684. On the detection of this conspiracy, loyal addresses arrived from all parts of the kingdom; and in order to increase his present popularity, Charles judged it proper to give his niece, the lady Anne, in marriage to prince George of Denmark, brother to the reigning king.

But though Charles had thus recovered his former popularity, and was enabled to govern without a parliament, it is certain he was neither happy nor satisfied. The violent temper of the duke gave him constant apprehension and uneasiness. In opposing some of the duke's hasty counsels, he was heard one day to say, "Brother, I am too old to go again on my travels: you may, if you choose it."

It was evident, the king had some important changes in contemplation, and it was strongly believed, that he intended to send the duke of York back to Scotland, to recal Monmouth, to assemble his parliament, and to dismiss his obnoxious ministers; but amidst these wise and virtuous designs, he was seized with an apoplectic

plectic fit, and after languishing a few days, he expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. Having always enjoyed a good constitution, his death begat the suspicion of poison; but there does not appear to be any just grounds for such a charge. His loss, however, was sincerely lamented by his people, and the more so, when they reflected on the character of his successor.

When Charles was on his death-bed, he shewed a total indifference to the devotions and exhortations of the clergy of the established church, but readily received the sacrament from the hands of catholic priests, and certainly died in the communion of Rome, though he appears to have lived with little sense of any religion.

Charles, when contemplated as a companion, appears the most amiable and engaging of men: he had a ready wit, was well-bred, and good natured; but when we consider his public character, there is little room for panegyric. As a sovereign, his conduct was dangerous to his people, and dishonourable to himself. He was negligent of the interests of the nation, careless of its glory, averse to its religion, jealous of its liberty, lavish of its treasure, and sparing only of its blood.

CHAP. XVII.

The Reign of James II.

JAMES ascended the throne, with every prejudice against him; but having assembled the privy-council, he declared A. D. 1685.

declared it should be his object to maintain the established government in church and state. Had these professions been realized, he might easily have regained some share of lost popularity; but on the very first exercise of his power, he evinced his insincerity. All the customs, and the greatest part of the excise, which had been settled by parliament on the late king during life, were demanded as a matter of right by his successor, and he also went openly to mass. By this imprudence, he displayed at once his arbitrary disposition, and the bigotry of his principles.

Though James could have no great partiality for an English parliament, he found it absolutely necessary to summon one. The odium under which the whigs laboured, on account of the recent conspiracy in which they were principally concerned, had such an effect, that the new house of commons consisted chiefly of zealous tories and friends to the hierarchy. Though strongly biassed in favour of the crown, the king's speech was rather calculated to call forth their fears than their affections. He required them to settle his revenue, and that during life too, as had been done to his brother. "There is indeed," added he, "one popular argument, against complying with my demand. Men may think, that by feeding me, from time to time, with such supplies as they think convenient, they will better secure frequent meetings of parliament; but as this is the first time I speak to you from the throne, I must plainly tell you, that such an expedient would be very improper to employ with me, and that the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well."

Reduced

Reduced to this dilemma, either of breaking with James at once, or of complying with his wishes, the commons voted the same revenue during life, as the late king had enjoyed. The house of lords were equally compliant; and, in order to break in pieces the remains of the popish plot, Oates was tried and convicted of perjury, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, besides being publicly whipped, and five times a year exposed in the pillory. The impudence of this man still supported him, and he continued to make the most solemn appeals to heaven for the truth of his testimony.*

On the conviction of Oates, the popish lords Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Tyrone, together with Danby, were freed from their impeachment: but the course of parliamentary proceedings was soon interrupted by the news of Monmouth's arrival in the west, with three ships from Holland. Parliament immediately passed a bill of attainder against Monmouth, and voted, that they would adhere to James with their lives and fortunes, and, as an earnest of their sincerity, they granted him a present supply of four hundred thousand pounds.

The unfortunate Monmouth, pursued by the jealousy of James, even in his retirement on the continent, and urged by the impatient humour of Argyle, who set out for Scotland in his cause, determined at once, to try his interest in England. Landing at Lyme, in Dorset, with scarcely an hundred men, the popularity of his

* On the accession of king William, he recovered his liberty, and had a pension of four hundred pounds a year settled on him.

name

name soon drew to his standard above two thousand horse and foot. He stiled James a popish usurper; and advancing to Taunton, was proclaimed king, which ceremony likewise took place in Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome.

But though Monmouth had given many proofs of personal courage, he seemed now to labour under an infatuation. He entrusted the command of his horse to lord Grey, a notorious coward, and on hearing of the defeat of Argyle, he lost all the energies of his mind, and sunk into despondence, without attempting any thing to keep up the expectations of the people. His negligence invited the earl of Feversham, the royal general, to attack him at Sedgemoor, where, after a sharp combat of three hours, the rebels gave way. About one thousand five hundred fell in the battle and pursuit; and Monmouth himself, flying from the field, till his horse sunk under him, changed clothes with a peasant, in order to conceal himself. At last he was found lying in the bottom of a ditch and covered with fern. His body depressed with fatigue and hunger; and his mind, by the memory of past misfortunes, and the anticipation of future ills, he burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and seemed still to indulge the fond hope and the desire of life. He wrote in the most submissive terms to James, conjuring him to spare the issue of a brother; and the king, availing himself of those symptoms of contrition and despondency in the unhappy prisoner, admitted him into his presence, in hopes of extorting a discovery of his accomplices. But Monmouth would not purchase life, however loved, at the price of so much infamy.

Finding

Finding all efforts vain, he prepared himself for death with a courage worthy of his rank and former character, and was attended to the scaffold by the silent tears of the people, with whom he had ever been a favourite. Even the executioner found himself incapable of performing his bloody office with effect; and the victim was miserably mangled by that very hesitation, which the feelings of humanity had inspired.

Had this victory been managed with prudence and moderation, it might have tended to confirm the royal power; but the savage colonel Kirke, and the infamous judge Jefferies, by their barbarity, hastened the ruin of their master. To enter into the details of the cruelties they inflicted on the wretched adherents of Monmouth, would be to harrow up every feeling of the soul.

In Scotland, the fate of Argyle had been decided before that of Monmouth. The parliament of that country had acknowledged the king's authority to be absolute; and with such a servile train, the patriotic virtues of Argyle could stand no chance of obtaining pardon.

Elated by this tide of short-lived prosperity, James began to undervalue the authority of an English parliament, and to dispense with some of its positive acts. In favour of many catholic officers, he suspended the operations of the test; but this daring infringement of the laws did not pass without notice. The commons voted an address against it, to which the king made a haughty reply.

Next day, the commons proceeded to the consideration of a supply, and went so far in their submissions, as to establish funds for paying the sums voted. The king, therefore, had, in effect,

effect, almost obtained a complete victory over the lower house, which ceased to be the guardians of the liberty and property of the people; but he had not lóng reason to congratulate himself on his success. Compton, bishop of London, in his own name, and that of his brethren, moved that a day should be appointed for taking the king's speech * into consideration, and notwithstanding the opposition he met with from Jefferies, and the phalanx of despotism, the bishop's motion prevailed.

James, irritated by this appearance of resistance, and hurried on by his bigotted counsellors, immediately proceeded to prorogue, and finding that the firmness of the leading members could not be broken, he finally dissolved that assembly.

The open declaration of James to dispense with the tests, had diffused an universal alarm through the nation, had alienated the church, and even disgusted the army. The former horror against popery was revived; and this was further strengthened by Lewis XIV. having, about the same time, recalled the edict of Nantes, which had been passed by Henry IV. in favour of the protestants. The consequence was, that near fifty thousand of these victims to bigotry, expatriated into England, and spread the terrors of popery, wherever they came.

A. D. 1686.

A venal bench of judges, which had been formed on purpose, decided in favour of the king's dispensing power, and four catholic lords were introduced into the council. James was

* In this, it seems, he had avowed the use he had made of his prerogative, in dispensing with the laws of the country.

openly

openly zealous in making converts, and some courtiers, out of interest rather than principle, professed themselves of the catholic religion. Men who had any regard to decency, any attachment to the liberties of their country, or the protestant faith, now withdrew themselves from the ministry, or were dismissed, and their places were filled with renegadoes, who squared their belief by their interest.

James, entirely governed by the queen and his confessor, father Peters, a jesuit and privy counsellor, despised even the admonitions of sensible catholics, who thought him too precipitate in his measures.

A. D. 1687.

Not satisfied with this, the king proceeded a step farther. He issued a proclamation, suspending all the penal laws in ecclesiastical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conscience to all his subjects. In order to facilitate the reception of this edict of toleration, James began to pay court to the dissenters; but his intentions were so obvious, that he found it impossible to secure the confidence of the nonconformists; and the measures which he took to give the catholics the ascendancy in Ireland, by means of Tyrconnel, stripped off the mask which he had thought it necessary on this occasion to assume.

James, however, did not long affect to conceal his designs. He publicly sent the earl of Castlemaine ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to bring about a reconciliation with the holy see; but the pope, rightly judging that a scheme conducted with such indiscretion could never succeed, would scarcely admit him to an audience, and thought it sufficient to send a nuncio

nuncio to England, who was solemnly received at Windsor, in opposition to an express act of parliament, which made it treason to hold any correspondence with the pope.

After all, James shewed extreme anxiety to gain the sanction of parliament to his proceedings; but finding that impossible, he forbore to assemble it, and proceeded to strengthen the catholic party by every possible expedient. The church and the universities had hitherto been shut against the followers of the romish communion; and though the university of Oxford had lately made a solemn profession of passive obedience, when he attempted to appoint one Farmer, a convert to popery, president of Magdalen college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, the society, in opposition to the king's mandate, elected doctor Hough, a man whose virtue and firmness rendered him not only proper for the office, but for the times. The commission nominated to enforce the king's recommendation of Farmer were ashamed to proceed, when his character came to be investigated; and Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of a prostitute character also, and who was ready to sacrifice the dignity of his rank to his interest, was next proposed to the fellows of Magdalen as their head. Arguments were useless against arbitrary principles, reinforced by power; the legal president, Hough, and all the fellows except two, who complied, were expelled the college, and Parker was appointed president.

A. D. 1688. The next measure of the court rendered the breach between the ecclesiastics incurable; the king had published a second declaration of indulgence, and ordered it

to

to be read in churches immediately after divine service. The clergy in general determined to oppose this violence done to their consciences; and Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn, of Bath and Wells, Turner, of Ely, Lake, of Chichester, White, of Peterborough, and Trelawney, of Exeter, in concert with the primate, drew up a petition to the king against reading the declaration. For this these venerable men were committed to the Tower, and the crown lawyers were ordered to prosecute them for the seditious libel, which it was pretended they had composed and uttered.

In spite of every machination, however, the bishops were acquitted, to the unbounded joy of the people, who rejoiced as if each had escaped from the heaviest ill, and the army encamped on Hownslow-heath soon catching the contagion, James, who was then upon the spot, was surprised to hear a general uproar in the camp: suddenly inquiring the cause, he was told by Feversham, his general, "it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he, "but so much the worse for them." Nothing, however, could check the mad career of James. He issued orders to prosecute all those who had not read his declaration, and to the honour of the established clergy be it recorded, only two hundred complied with his edict.

About this time the queen was delivered of a son, to the great joy of the king and his catholic subjects; but so violent was the animosity against the court, that calumny ascribed to James the design of imposing on the world a supposititious child. He was baptized by the name of

James, and afterwards acquired the title of "the pretender."

While matters were in this state, the prince of Orange, married to the princess Mary of England, eldest daughter of the king, though he had hitherto kept silence, yet saw the danger to his own country of the catholic religion gaining the ascendancy in England, and therefore judged the crisis was come in which he ought to declare himself against repealing the penal statutes, unless with the concurrence of parliament, which he was sensible could not be obtained.

This declaration gave courage to the protestants, in proportion as it disgusted the king and the catholics. James, indeed, resented it so strongly, that he was preparing to make war on the United States, while many persons of consequence and talents flying from England, offered their services to William, and requested his active interference.

The prince, after duly weighing matters, and finding the whigs, the tories, the churchmen, and the non-conformists, forgetting their animosities, all leagued against their deluded sovereign, thought it proper to yield to the very respectable and numerous applications he had received; and having secretly augmented the Dutch navy, levied troops, and raised considerable sums of money, he waited for a favourable opportunity of embarking for England.

Louis, who had either penetrated or suspected his designs, gave repeated warnings to James, but all in vain. He was more intent on propagating popery, and subverting the laws of the kingdom, than on defending it from invasion.

At

At last, however, when convinced that he might soon expect a powerful attack from Holland, he opened his eyes, and saw the precipice before him. He now began to retract those measures which had created him so many foreign and domestic enemies; but so little sincerity did he evince even in this, that on being informed of the Dutch fleet's being dispersed by a storm, he recalled for a time the concessions he had made.

Meanwhile, a temperate and judicious declaration from the prince of Orange being dispersed over the kingdom, the number of his adherents greatly increased.

After a prosperous voyage he landed his army safely in Torbay, on the fifth of November, and, marching to Exeter, caused his declaration to be published. That country, however, had been so terrified by the executions that followed Monmouth's rebellion, that it was some days before any one joined the prince. The first person that openly declared in his favour was major Burrington, and he was quickly followed by numerous others. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees all England was in commotion, and the nobility and gentry in distant counties began to espouse the cause of the prince of Orange, and to arm in his defence.

A. D. 1688.

The spirit of disaffection likewise speedily seized the royal army, and lord Cornbury and many officers of distinction carried over their regiments to the prince. Many more informed Feversham, their general, that they could not in conscience draw their swords against the Dutch;

 and

and even lord Churchill, who had risen entirely by court favour, influenced by principle alone, deserted his master, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king.

James, who had advanced to Salisbury at the head of his army, soon received a more mortal blow in the defection of George, prince of Denmark, his son-in-law, and his daughter Anne, who both joined the prince. This shock overwhelmed him. In the agony of anguish he exclaimed, "God help me! my own children have forsaken me." His last acts of authority were to issue writs for a new parliament, and to send Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin to treat with the prince of Orange. He alternately became timid and resolute; but at last, listening to the fears of the queen, and the impolitic suggestions of the emissaries of France, he determined to withdraw, and having sent the queen before him to the continent, with the infant prince, he hastened to embark and follow her.

By this rash step the reins of the government being thrown up, the populace were left masters, and rising in a tumultuous manner, they destroyed all the mass-houses, and wreaked their vengeance on whoever had offended them. On Jefferies, who had disguised himself to escape their just indignation, they executed the greatest severity, and in consequence of the injury he had received, he died soon after.

Feversham, informed of his master's flight, and of the approach of the prince of Orange, disbanded his troops. James, however, not being able to reach the ship which was to convey him to France, was stopped at Rochester, where the

the people, moved by compassion or actuated by loyalty, received him with shouts and acclamations, and he was conducted back to Whitehall.

There he was treated with little respect ; but his presence embarrassing William, the latter, in order to work upon his fears, sent a message at midnight for him to repair to Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale. He desired permission, however, to retire again to Rochester, which being easily accorded, finding himself universally deserted, the object neither of fear nor respect, he embarked on board a frigate, and landed in safety at Ambleteuse, in Picardy, from whence he hastened to St. Germain's to join the queen. Louis received them both with the greatest generosity and respect, a circumstance that does him more honour than his most splendid victories.

Thus ended the reign of James—a prince who in his early years possessed courage and activity, and who, had he not been the slave of superstition, might have shone with glory in the annals of this country. In domestic life he was respectable, if not irreproachable ; and even while he was sacrificing every thing to the advancement of popery, his frugality of the public money, and his attention to the national honour, were highly commendable. But he wanted qualities for which no compensation could be made : he disregarded the religion and the constitution of his country ; in principle he was a despot and a bigot, and his abdication of the throne, and consequent exclusion, have proved the happiness of this kingdom.

Thus, with very little effusion of blood, the prince of Orange was left without a rival—but a

difficult task still remained, to obtain for himself the crown which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. It would have been destructive to the principles of liberty which he professed to establish, had he claimed it by right of conquest. His good sense, therefore, determined him to leave the settlement of this important affair to the guidance and direction of the nation.

All the members who had sitten in the house of commons during any part of the reign of Charles II. were invited to meet, and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of London. These unanimously concurred with the lords in summoning a convention, and the prince, thus supported, issued a proclamation to the counties and corporations of England. In regard to Scotland, he adopted the same wise and prudent maxims, and the convention assembled in that kingdom, by a bold and decisive vote, declared that James had forfeited all title to the crown, and made a tender of the royal dignity to the prince and princess of Orange.

A. D. 1689. In the English convention, which soon assembled, it was evident that the whig party prevailed, and the commons sent up a vote to the peers couched in these words, "That king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and the people; and having, by the advice of jesuits, and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant."

This vote, however, met with considerable opposition

opposition in the upper house, and the whigs and tories canvassed every expression with that logical acumen which such a weighty subject demanded. At last the tories prevailed so far as to carry the omission of the last clause, which declared the throne vacant; but the commons still insisted on their original vote, and some peers deserting to the whig interest, it was ultimately established by both houses.

During these debates the prince had maintained a respectful silence; but at last, finding that some were for appointing a regent, and that others proposed to place the crown on the head of Mary alone, he took an opportunity of declaring, that though he pretended not to interfere in their deliberations, it was necessary to apprise them that he was determined not to be regent, nor would he accept a crown which must depend on the life or will of another; and, therefore, if they were inclined to either of these two plans, it would be wholly out of his power to give them any further assistance.

The moderation of the princess seconded the views of her husband, and the princess Anne agreeing to be postponed in the succession till after the death of both, facilitated the public settlement. The principal parties concerned being thus agreed, the convention passed a bill, settling the crown on the prince and princess of Orange, the sole administration to remain in the former, and that the princess Anne and her issue, in case they should have none, should succeed in order, after the demise of both. To this settlement the convention annexed a declaration of rights, in which the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed, and more

more exactly defined than at any former period, and which may be justly regarded as the charter of English liberty.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Reign of William and Mary.

A. D. 1688. THE revolution, as it is called, forms a new epoch in the constitution, and was probably attended with advantages to the people, beyond barely freeing them from an exceptionable administration; and it may justly be affirmed, without any danger of exaggeration, that the British have since enjoyed a system of government the most perfect and the most free that was ever established among men.

But while William and Mary were thus peaceably established in Great Britain, a very different scene presented itself in Ireland. The catholics in that country saw with reluctance the events which had taken place, and testified their adherence to James.

The earl of Tyrconnel, the lord deputy, while he amused William with a pretended treaty for the surrender of his government, was at the same moment employing secret agents to negotiate with James for a foreign force to be sent from France to secure his authority. The distracted state of that unhappy kingdom at this time can scarcely be described. The protestants, in the north-eastern division, had proclaimed William and Mary, which Tyrconnel considering as an act of rebellion, sent a considerable force against them,

them, and put them universally to the route.—The popish party became daily more ferocious and insolent, and the protestants were alarmed with the apprehension of a revival of those scenes of murder and devastation which were still recent in their remembrance.

At the accession of William, the third of that name who had swayed the sceptre in Britain, the whole kingdom was divided into three factions; the jacobites, who adhered to the ex-family, the tories, and the whigs. To the latter, William was chiefly indebted for his crown; but notwithstanding their attachment to him, a jealous love of liberty, the paramount passion of their hearts, prompted them to settle a revenue on him for one year only, and it was evidently their design to continue this from year to year, without weighing the dangerous consequences to which this practice would have led.

William, knowing his importance, complained of these restraints, and threatened to withdraw into Holland if they were not removed. The tories, perceiving the king's temper, availed themselves of it, and began to form designs to disappoint the whigs of all the salutary fruits of the revolution.

The shutting the doors of both houses against those who had shewn themselves inimical to the constitution in the late reign, was a favourite scheme of the whigs; and it was with the utmost chagrin they found the king send a message to the commons, in which he recommended a bill of indemnity, as the most effectual means of putting an end to all controversies and distinctions. The whigs had the address to defeat this for a time; but the parties were now so equally balanced

lanced in parliament, that the bill for restoring corporations to their ancient rights passed by one vote only, with the rejection of two clauses against those who had been concerned in the surrender of charters.

In fact, William, finding the tories more compliant, began to gratify them at the expence of the rival faction, and, aided by such countenance, they soon gained a majority in parliament, of which one of the party, sir John Trevor, was chosen speaker. The whigs found themselves foiled or outvoted in several favourite schemes, and some of them resented this so highly that they resigned their offices.

William having wholly given himself up to the politics of the tories, was soon gratified with the hereditary excise during life, and the customs for four years. An act of indemnity also passed, with the exception of thirty persons.

A French war was the natural result of the revolution. Louis XIV. had long rendered himself the terror and the scourge of Europe; and William eagerly sought for an opportunity of revenge. It was about this time that a confederacy, which he had proposed among the princes of the empire, began to take effect. The emperor negotiated an alliance offensive and defensive with the States General, and it was a favourite object of William's policy to engage England in the confederacy. The commons unanimously resolved, that in case his majesty should think fit to engage in a war with France, they would enable him to prosecute it with vigour.

This was too agreeable to the king to meet

meet with a tardy acceptance; and war was immediately declared against the French monarch.

Louis shewed no marks of dejection at this confederacy. He supplied James with a considerable fleet for the invasion of Ireland, and the ex-prince, with about twelve hundred British subjects, and several of the most distinguished French officers, landed at Kinsale, on the 22d of March, 1689. The earl of Tyrconnel had taken care that he should be joined on his arrival by an army of nearly forty thousand men, and the whole kingdom, except the city of Londonderry, received him with submission.

In short, the affairs of William were almost become desperate in Ireland, and as he had found himself deceived by those to whom he had committed his trust, he determined to pass over into that island in person. The good effects of this resolution were speedily experienced. A general engagement took place on the banks of the Boyne, in which the Irish met with a total defeat; and James, in apprehension of falling into the hands of his son-in-law, fled a second time into France, but the hopes and the spirits of his party were not yet vanquished.

A. D. 1690.

An attempt had been made to secure Scotland likewise for James; but the two armies meeting at Killicranky, in Perthshire, victory declared in favour of William, after an obstinate contest under lieutenant-general Mackay and lord Dundee, in which the latter was killed, an incident that decided the fortune of the day. Immediately after this, Edinburgh castle, which had been defended by the duke

A. D. 1689.

duke of Gordon, surrendered, and then the whole island of Great-Britain owned the authority of William.

To balance these successes, the French fleet having gained a partial advantage over the English and Dutch off Beachy Head, the former rode for some weeks triumphant in the channel; nor was there any regular force in the kingdom to face any army which Louis might have landed in the name of his ally. But the conduct of James in Ireland shewed that he was not calculated to make any lasting impression any where; and though the success of the French fleet encouraged the Irish for a time to keep up their resistance, it only increased the misery of that unhappy country, without producing any important events.

William returning to England, put his army under the command of count de Solmes, and baron de Ginkle, two Dutchmen, and committed the civil administration to lord Sydney and Thomas Coningsby.

A. D. 1691. Next year the Irish rebels were entirely reduced, and a kind of peace was secured between the parties by the treaty of Limerick. By this capitulation, the catholics were restored to the same rights and privileges as they had enjoyed under Charles II.; and fourteen thousand of the determined adherents of James were allowed to transport themselves to France.

The conquest of Ireland being thus effected, all the hopes of James rested on the exertions of Louis, who, using him to promote his own interest, projected an invasion of England. A considerable body of French forces, and many fugitive Irish and Scots assembled, between Cherbourg

Cherbourg and La Hogue, commanded by James in person; while a French fleet of sixty-three ships of the line, under admiral Tourville, was appointed to favour the descent.

To oppose this formidable armament, a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, English and Dutch, besides frigates and fire-ships, was fitted out under the gallant admiral Russel. On the 19th of May, 1692, the hostile fleets met off La Hogue; and, after a bloody contest of ten hours, victory declared in favour of the English. The French lost fifteen ships of the line; the naval superiority of the British was re-established, and all the hopes of James vanished.

A. D. 1697.

The war, however, was continued on the continent for some years with various success; but at last it was terminated by the treaty of Rhyswick, with no advantage to England beyond honour and independence, which perhaps might have been secured at a cheaper rate.

The increase of taxes from war had rendered the people dissatisfied; and when William announced to his parliament the state of the finances, and demanded a fresh supply, for the payment of debts, and the support of the army, the commons, exerting their constitutional power, resolved, without a division, that all the land forces raised since the 29th of September, 1680, should be paid and disbanded.

This was like a thunderbolt to the king and his ministry. The earl of Sunderland, his secretary, who had rendered himself obnoxious during two reigns, now gave up the seals, and retired into the country.

Meanwhile, the commons proceeded with equal

equal firmness and moderation to provide for the real wants of the nation, and to guard against any danger from its enemies; and having taken care of those important objects, as they supposed, the parliament was dissolved.

William, having evaded the act relative to the reduction of the army, and hoping to find more submission from a new parliament, renewed his demand for an increase of men; but he soon discovered that his arguments had no effect, and a resolution passed, that the army in England and Wales should be disbanded by a fixed day, with the exception of seven thousand men, who were judged sufficient for guards and garrisons.

The king, suspecting that this unpopularity arose from the fault of his servants, resolved to change them before the next meeting of parliament; but so jealous were the English become of William's partiality to the Dutch, that they now threatened to impeach the two court favorites, the earls of Portland and Albemarle, and resolved to address the king against admitting any person not a native into his councils, excepting only George prince of Denmark.

The king, finding it useless to oppose the commons, gave his assent to an act respecting the application of forfeitures in Ireland, which had occasioned much ill-humour, and soon after dissolved the parliament.

A. D. 1700.

The opening of the new parliament promised more cordiality, and the commons assured the king they were ready to co-operate with him in whatever might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the general peace of Europe

rope. They likewise settled the succession, in case the princess Anne should die without issue, on Sophia of Hanover; and having thus provided against the restoration of the exiled family, they turned their thoughts to foreign relations, demanding, that all treaties concluded or renewed within the last three years should be laid before parliament.

On the conclusion of the last peace, William had entered into a secret treaty with the court of France, for the division of the Spanish dominions, on the death of the reigning sovereign. Among the competitors for that crown, the dauphin, who had married the king of Spain's daughter, was to be allowed to possess the greatest part of Italy; and other allotments were made, which tended to lessen the danger of one person succeeding to too extensive dominion.

Though few were privy to this agreement, by some means it reached the ears of the king of Spain, who made the strongest remonstrances against it by his ambassador, and pledged himself to expose the indignity that was offered him, to the parliament of England. William, who was then at Loo, in Holland, his favourite residence, when he could be spared from England, felt this appeal so forcibly, that he ordered the Spanish ambassador to quit the kingdom, which the court of Madrid retaliated.

Meanwhile, the king of Spain, in order to frustrate the objects of the confederacy, by will nominated the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, heir to all his dominions; by which means he detached the French monarch from the union that had been formed; and dying

soon after, William, whose grand concern was to preserve the barrier of Flanders in the hands of the Dutch, determined to seek occasion to quarrel with France.

To effect his purposes, he filled the vacant offices with several of the high church party, and affecting openness and condescension to the parliament, informed them that his foreign negotiations, for the preservation of peace and security, were likely to prove ineffectual.

Parliament, however, observing that the protection of the seven United Provinces was the principal object William had in view, requested his majesty to continue his negotiations; and, to evince their resentment at the clandestine partition treaty he had entered into, ordered an impeachment against the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Portland, and lord Somers, for the part they had taken in this measure.

Meanwhile, a petition favourable to the king's views was presented by the freeholders of Kent; and the clamours of the people, reinforced by a powerful party William had formed in the house of lords, soon taught him that he had nothing to fear from the aversion of the commons, to enter into any treaties he might judge expedient. Accordingly, after proroguing parliament. he retired to Loo, and there entered into a league with the emperor and the States General, the principal objects of which were the recovery of Flanders as a barrier for Holland, and of Milan as a security for the emperor.

Most fortunately and opportunely for William, about this time died the ex-king, to whom, on his death-bed, Louis had promised that his son

son should be acknowledged heir to all the British dominions. In his last agonies, James lifted himself up in his bed to thank his benefactor, and died, it is said, in a transport of joy, for such an unexpected assurance. The young prince accordingly was proclaimed king of Great Britain and Ireland; but, instead of forwarding his cause, it only united the nation in opposition to his claims, and in indignation against France.

In the new parliament the whig interest was found to preponderate, and William, availing himself of all these favourable circumstances, easily obtained a large supply, which was followed by a vote, that no peace should be concluded with France till reparation should be made to the king and nation, for owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England.

Amidst other parliamentary business it was now resolved, that the proportion of land forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, should be forty thousand men; and forty thousand seamen were voted for the service of the ensuing year.

Thus every thing went on according to the king's wishes, and he now seemed to have obtained a complete triumph over the weakness and the wickedness of faction, when he was snatched away by the unrelenting arm of death. His health had been declining for above a year, which, instead of abating his resolution, urged him on to redouble his efforts to engage England in the schemes he had projected. This object made him conceal the inroads which he felt were making in his constitution; and, though in a weak and languishing state, he still continued the exercise of hunting. But while en-

gaged in the sport, his collar bone was broken by a fall from his horse, and this hastened his dissolution. He died on Sunday, the 8th of March, of an asthma and fever, in the thirteenth year of his reign. His amiable consort, Mary, had fallen a victim to the small-pox a few years before.

A. D. 1702.

The character of William, which had been distorted by prejudice, or exalted beyond its proper pitch, by partiality, during his life, after his death became still more difficult to appreciate. England, unquestionably, gained much by the revolution, in some respects, while it was a severe sufferer in others. The system of borrowing money on remote funds, which began in this reign, has been attended with the most pernicious consequences. A standing army, too, which was first sanctioned by parliament in the time of William, is only to be defended by the relative situation of Europe. Though regarded as an evil, it must be allowed to have become a necessary one. But, on the other hand, if we contemplate the noble stand which William made for freedom, and the anxiety he shewed to perpetuate it, we must be led to acknowledge, that he possessed qualities of the first order, which entitle him to the applause and admiration of posterity.

In person, William was small and slender. His complexion was brown, his nose Roman, and his eye piercing. His genius was penetrating, and his judgment sound; but in his manners he was distant, and better qualified to gain respect than love. In 1694, the bank of England, and the salt and stamp offices, were established.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The Reign of Queen Anne.

A.D. 1702.

ANNE, princess of Denmark, the eldest surviving daughter of James II. ascended the throne on the death of William, with the general good will of all parties. She was now in the thirty-eighth year of her age, and by her husband, George prince of Denmark, had had a numerous offspring; but they all died in infancy, except the duke of Gloucester, who reached the age of eleven, and was just beginning to give high promises of future worth, when he was arrested by the hand of death.

As a wife and a mother, Anne had ever supported the most exemplary character; but her genius and understanding were unequal to the station she was called to fill. The facility of her disposition rendered her the dupe of interested and artful dependants; and owing to this, a serious misunderstanding had taken place between her and the late king and queen, which terminated only with the lives of the latter. The courtiers too, entering into the feelings of their sovereign, had shewed her very little attention; but no sooner was she elevated to the throne, than all parties vied with each other to win her favour, by professions of duty and attachment.

As the whigs had been least friendly to her when in a private station, she naturally inclined to the tories; and Somers and Halifax, with some others, were excluded from her councils, and

and their places supplied by men of the opposite faction.

As the tories, on very substantial grounds, had shewn a reluctance to enter into new defensive and offensive alliances, the United States were under some alarm lest Anne should abandon the politics of her predecessor; but they were soon relieved from their anxiety, by the arrival of the earl of Marlborough, with full assurances that her majesty would adhere to all the stipulations entered into by the late king.

In her first speech to parliament, Anne made the most conciliatory declarations of her views and principles; and in return they settled on her, during life, the same revenue as had been enjoyed by William. The queen, not to be outdone in generosity, though she observed that the funds appropriated to the civil list might probably fall short of what they had formerly produced, assigned one hundred thousand pounds from the amount for the public service of the year.

When the business of the intended war against France was debated in the queen's privy council, the earl of Rochester, maternal uncle to the queen, justly observed, that as England had least to fear from the power of France, it would be but fair that the chief burden of the war should rest on the continental allies; but this being violently opposed by the earl of Marlborough, the queen's chief favourite, his lordship prevailed, and was farther appointed captain general of all her majesty's forces, to be employed in conjunction with the troops of the allies.

The Dutch too, to whom the earl had been sent ambassador extraordinary, gave him the

same

same appointment over their forces; and the several allies having promised to furnish their quotas with alacrity, every thing was concerted for opening the campaign with activity and vigour; the avowed object of which, as far as concerned England, was to put the house of Austria in possession of the throne of Spain, and to procure a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands.

Marlborough, at the head of sixty thousand men, taking the field in July, obliged the duke of Burgundy, who commanded the French army, to retire before him, and to leave Spanish Guelderland exposed. The town and castle of Werk surrendered; Venlo capitulated; and Ruremonde was reduced, after an obstinate defence. The French, under Boufflers, returning towards Brabant, the confederate army followed, and took Liege by assault, in which they found considerable public booty.

A. D. 1702.

Meanwhile, the combined fleets of England and Holland, having received intelligence that the Spanish galleons from the West Indies had put into Vigo, under the convoy of a French squadron, made sail to that port; and from the skill and intrepidity of sir George Rooke, who commanded the English, they were driven to the necessity of destroying their ships and galleons, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. Ten ships of war, however, were taken, and eleven galleons, with riches to the amount of seven million pieces of eight. This compensated for an unsuccessful attempt made on Cadiz, under the duke of Ormond, which failed principally from the insubordination of the military. But the loss of admiral Benbow was more severely felt. This brave, rough officer, in an engagement

engagement with a squadron of the enemy's ships, lost his leg, while attempting to board the French admiral, and being defeated through the treachery of his own captain, vexation threw him into a fever, of which he died.

Nevertheless, parliament met in the best possible humour; both houses congratulated her majesty on the success of her arms; and the commons went so far, as to depute a committee of their own house to thank the favourite and successful general, who about this time was created duke of Marlborough, and complimented by his mistress with a grant of five thousand per annum out of the post office. At the same time the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds was settled on the queen's consort, George prince of Denmark, in case he should survive her.

The next campaign opened with great advantage to the allies; but from several instances of misconduct, in which the English had no share, it was on the whole rather favourable to the house of Bourbon. Some towns indeed were taken by the confederate forces in Flanders; but they failed in their attempts on the strong lines, formed by the enemy for the protection of that country.

A. D. 1703.

In the beginning of the following year, the duke of Marlborough, having concerted the plan of operations with the States, crossed the Rhine at Coblentz with his army, and, being joined by prince Eugene and the imperialists, advanced to Brentz, and fixed their camp within two leagues of the elector of Bavaria's army.

A. D. 1704.

On the second of July, they forced the enemy's

my's entrenchments at Donnawert, and passed the Danube without resistance; but the want of magazines and provisions rendered it impossible to maintain themselves there for any length of time. In consequence, a battle or a retreat became necessary; and the elector, with more spirit than prudence, gave them the former opportunity. His army lay encamped with the Danube on their right, whilst their left was covered by a thick wood, from which ran a rivulet along their front. This forming a morass as it ran across the plain, rendered the pass difficult to the enemy; but instead of taking advantage of this circumstance, when the elector saw the duke of Marlborough preparing to give battle, he formed his line at a considerable distance from the morass, and threw twenty-eight squadrons of foot, and eight squadrons of horse, into the village of Blenheim, and eight battalions of foot into Lutzingen, with the vain expectation that these parties would be able to fall upon the rear of his enemy as soon as they had passed the brook.

On the other hand, the duke of Marlborough, taking advantage of the injudicious arrangement of his opponent, ordered the villages to be attacked by his infantry, and with his horse, in person, fell on the French cavalry, commanded by marshal Tallard, while prince Eugene, who commanded the right, attacked the elector of Bavaria and marshal de Marzin. After several charges, the French horse were totally subdued, and driven into the Danube, where most of them were put to the sword or drowned; and ten battalions of foot were at the same time charged on all sides, and cut to pieces. The horse, led by the

the elector of Bavaria and marshal de Marzin, made a resolute defence against prince Eugene; but at length, being intimidated at the fate of their companions, twenty-eight battalions of foot and eight squadrons of dragoons surrendered at discretion. The detachment of the enemy stationed at Lutzingen escaped in the confusion.

Almost half the French and Bavarian army was lost in this decisive battle, together with their camp, equipage, baggage, and artillery. Marshal de Tallard was taken prisoner, and the elector of Bavaria was reduced to the necessity of flying, and seeking shelter within the confines of France, while his dominions fell into the hands of the emperor.

After this, the allies, recrossing the Rhine, entered Alsace, and before the close of the campaign made themselves masters of Landau and Frierbach. In Italy the French had again the advantage; and their general, Vendome, took several places of importance.

Early in May, 1705, the duke of Marlborough took the field, and advanced to Elft; when the enemy under marshal de Villars, amounting to seventy thousand men, retired to Sirk: but the French troops, under the elector of Bavaria and marshal de Villeroi, having taken Huy, marched with the whole army to Liege.

The States, alarmed at the near approach of the enemy, sent to request the duke of Marlborough's immediate assistance. This he readily acceded to, and, being joined by the Dutch troops, retook Huy; and the enemy, abandoning their design upon Liege, retired behind their lines.

Marlborough

Marlborough, inflamed with a desire of atchieving some action of importance, prepared to attack the foe. By dint of manœuvring, however, they escaped for a time; but having gained his opportunity, the duke defeated the Bavarian cavalry with considerable loss, and the infantry was likewise obliged to give way. This was the last event of consequence that marked the campaign in Flanders.

Meanwhile, five thousand troops, under the command of the earl of Peterborough and sir Cloudesly Shovel, being joined by a Dutch squadron at Lisbon, and reinforced by a body of horse from the earl of Galway's army in Portugal, having taken the archduke Charles on board, directed their course to Catalonia. The arrival of this armament spread terror and confusion through the whole country: the fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were surrendered without a blow; Barcelona was forced to capitulate; and almost the whole kingdom of Valencia, and the province of Catalonia, submitted to the invaders. The archduke now assumed the title of king of Spain, and took up his winter quarters in the heart of that country.

The emperor Leopold dying this year, was succeeded by his son Joseph. In the latter, ambition and bigotry were as conspicuous as in any of his predecessors; and, like his father, he trusted more to the generous efforts of England than to his own activity and resources.

Marshal de Villeroi, either in obedience to the orders of his court, or from a desire to signalize his bravery, issuing from his lines behind the Doyle, in Flanders, advanced to Tirlemont, and from thence to Ramilies, where he met the united

united army of the allies. Both sides speedily formed in order of battle. The advantage of ground was on the side of the French; but the military genius of the duke of Marlborough more than compensated for this. The main body of the enemy was speedily driven from the field; and such was the impetuosity of the allies, that in less than two hours eighty thousand French troops were wholly put to the route. The victory was complete: an hundred pieces of cannon, a great quantity of baggage, and all the trophies of war, rewarded the conquerors. The loss of the enemy in men was also very great.

The entire conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders, were the immediate fruits of the battle of Ramilies. Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, Alost, Ghent, and Oudenarde, surrendered without resistance: Ostend was obliged to capitulate, and the captures of Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth, concluded the, operations of the campaign.

At Barcelona, Philip of Spain met also with a signal defeat from the English; while the earl of Galway, entering Estremadura, took Alcantara, forced Cividad, Rodrigo, Salamanca, and Espinar, and then directed his course to Madrid, which the English and Portuguese entered in triumph.

Accumulated misfortunes attended the house of Bourbon this year. In Italy, Modena, Mantua, Milan, Piedmont, and ultimately the kingdom of Naples, were lost. In Germany, however, where the Imperialists were left to fight their own battles, the French maintained the superiority.

Meanwhile,

Meanwhile, the navy of England, under the direction of the prince of Denmark, with the title of lord high admiral, assisted by a council, was very badly managed. The taking of Gibraltar*, by sir George Rooke, the subjection of Majorca and Ivica to the dominion of the archduke, the transporting of troops to Spain, the conducting prince Charles with great pomp to Portugal, and other similar exploits, were all that had been atchieved by the fleet during four years.

In return for the essential services he had rendered his country, the duke of Marlborough was gratified with the honour and manor of Woodstock and the hundred of Wootton. The commons, having ordered a committee of their house, to wait upon him with their thanks, for the success of his late negotiations in the cabinet, as well as his victories in the field, appointed a day for considering his services, and then addressed her majesty to find means to perpetuate their memory. In reply, the queen acquainted them, that she intended to grant to the duke, and his heirs, the interest of the crown in the aforesaid manor and honour; and she desired the assistance of the house, in clearing from incumbrance the lieutenancy and rangership of the park, with the rents and profits of the manor and hundred, which had already been alienated for two lives. The queen's request was immediately complied with; a bill was brought in to carry it into effect, and passed both houses without opposition. Half a million sterling was also voted, to build the palace or castle of

* July 24th, 1704.

Blenheim, as a monument of the signal victory the duke of Marlborough had gained near the village of that name.

This act of private generosity was followed by one of a more public and general nature. The queen, with the concurrence of parliament, alienated that branch of the revenue which arose from first fruits and tenths paid by the clergy, and vested it in trustees for the augmentation of small livings.* At the same time, the statute of mortmain was repealed, so far as to leave it free for persons, either by deed or their last will, to give what they thought fit for the increase of benefices.

From her first accession, the queen had shewn a great partiality for what was denominated the high church party. High church and low church, or, in other words, high principles and moderate principles, in religion and government, divided the nation. At the head of the former was the earl of Rochester, and of the latter, the earl of Godolphin, lord treasurer, whose party gaining the ascendant, the queen was induced, contrary to her inclination, to throw herself entirely into the hands of the whigs; and consequently, that faction secured a majority in the new parliament of 1705. The tories, however, did not tamely give up the contest, and they took every opportunity of embarrassing, even where they had no chance of ultimately prevailing.

But, from the petty squabbles of factions, con-

* Were the money allotted for the augmentation of small livings laid out in the purchase of stock instead of land, it would be much more productive to the clergy, and beneficial to the community.

tending

tending for power and place, let us turn to an event more glorious and beneficial than all the actions of this reign, the union between Scotland and England. This had frequently been attempted, and even so lately as the close of the life of William, but difficulties and objections still occurred, to prevent its being brought to a successful issue. The Scotch, jealous of independence, thought they saw in the projected union the ruin of their country; and the vanity of having a parliament of their own, blinded them to the mischiefs that arose from this very source. At length, the real friends of both kingdoms became sensible of the necessity of uniting them under one legislature, and one government; and having duly weighed and adjusted all matters in dispute, both parties agreed to a definitive arrangement, the articles of which have ever since been faithfully observed.

A. D. 1707.

But to return to the war: by the prodigious exertions of the English, and the conduct and good fortune of the duke of Marlborough, Lewis was so far reduced, after the campaign of 1706, that he offered peace on these terms: that the dominions of Spain in Italy, should be given to the archduke; that a barrier in the Netherlands should be allowed to the States, and a compensation made to the duke of Savoy, for the damages his territories had received during the war. In return for these concessions, he demanded the quiet possession of the throne of Spain, and the Indies, to his grandson, Philip V. and the restoration of Bavaria to its native prince.

These conditions were rejected with disdain

 by

by the duke of Marlborough and his partisans; and so high did his grace's character stand with the nation at this period, that both houses renewed their thanks to him, passed a bill to perpetuate his titles in the female as well as the male line, and cheerfully voted supplies to enable him to prosecute the war, and to bring it to the issue he wished.

But, notwithstanding all his grace's abilities and influence, which were strengthened and upheld by the ascendancy his duchess had long maintained over the queen, a plot, which operated like a slow poison, was laying for his disgrace. Mrs. Masham, a distant relation of the duchess of Marlborough, who had, from this connection, obtained the office of woman of the bedchamber, was every day undermining her benefactress in the favour of her sovereign.

About the same time, Mr. Robert Henley, who had distinguished himself in the late reign, as a man of independent principles, being appointed secretary of state, and manager of the house of commons, solely by the influence of the Marlborough party, finding the queen had been prejudiced by Mrs. Masham against those who ruled in her name, availed himself of the opportunity to urge his mistress to assert her own authority, and to emancipate herself from the control of party.

So long had the duchess of Marlborough been used to power and favour, that, with all her penetration, she did not discover a rival in Mrs. Masham till it was too late. Stung to the soul, when she found the ingratitude of the person she had wholly raised, her grace expostulated with the queen in the language of

wounded

wounded affection; while the duke her husband, and Godolphin her son-in-law, threatened to resign, if the intrigues of Mrs. Masham and Mr. Harley were suffered to proceed.

Partial and indulgent as Anne was, both to the duke and duchess of Marlborough, she was spirited on by her new favourites, to resent the supposed indignity which had been offered to her; and though Harley advised her to temporize, he strained every nerve to render the duke, and of consequence the war, unpopular.

But whilst the tories, in conjunction with the disappointed whigs, were carrying motions in the upper house, calculated to throw disgrace on the principal agents of government, a sudden alarm of an invasion from France, in favour of the pretender, or the chevalier St. George, as he was called, by equally terrifying all parties, united them all for a time in one common cause, and thus strengthened the hands of the existing ministry.

Both houses joined in a loyal and affectionate address on this occasion: the habeas corpus act was suspended; the pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels; and a bill passed, discharging the clans of Scotland, where it was expected the chevalier would land, from all vassalage to those chiefs who should arm against her majesty.

A large fleet was equipped with the utmost diligence, and dispatched towards Dunkirk, from which port the embarkation of the French was making under count Fourbin; but the English fleet, under sir George Rooke, being driven back by a hard gale to the Downs, the French took the opportunity of putting to sea. So closely,

closely, however, were they pursued, that both squadrons arrived in the Frith of Forth almost at the same time; when the French commander, despairing of success, and unwilling to try the issue of a battle, taking advantage of a land breeze, sailed away, to the great mortification of the chevalier, who requested, with tears in his eyes, to be set on shore, though followed only by his own domestics.

A. D. 1708. Thus the nation was most happily relieved from the fears of an invasion, while the duke of Marlborough, with his usual success, having defeated the French near Oudenarde, raised the siege of Brussels, and retook Ghent and Bruges, which had been lost by treachery. About the same time, the duke's interest was strengthened by the expulsion of Harley from the council; and as the whigs continued zealous promoters of the war, which they had first instigated, his grace's influence seemed likely to be perpetuated.

On the twenty-eighth of October of this year died George prince of Denmark, a personage who possessed all the amiable qualities of his consort, and who, if he had not made himself particularly beloved, had never been unpopular. Anne was now in the forty-fourth year of her age, without any surviving issue; and, being very subject to the gout, shewed all the incipient infirmities of age, which were hastened and aggravated by domestic ills and public cares. Both houses addressed her majesty in strains of affectionate condolence, and entreated her to moderate her grief. They even hinted at a second marriage; but the queen modestly observing, that the provision she had made for the protestant

protestant succession would always be a proof of her zeal for the happiness of the kingdom, forebore making any other reply.

After the battle of Oudenarde, in which the French had four thousand men killed and wounded, and seven thousand taken prisoners, Lisle, the bulwark of the French barrier, was invested. Prince Eugene commanded, and Marlborough covered and sustained the siege. The garrison was numerous, and was commanded by a marshal of France; but nothing could resist bravery and skill united. The enemy assembled all their forces, and marched to the relief of the town, but were only spectators of its fall. The duke then surprised the French posts on the Scheldt, and carried on his operations even in the midst of a severe winter.

Meanwhile the duke of Savoy, by making himself master of the important fortresses of Exilles, La Perouse, the valley of St. Martin, and Fenestrelles, had opened a way into the French provinces on the side of Dauphiné, while the possession of Lisle exposed that monarchy on the side of the Netherlands. The finances of that kingdom were reduced to the lowest ebb, and despair began to seize the court.

During this campaign, major-general Stanhope, with three thousand men, having landed on the island of Minorca, took fort St. Philip's in three days, and in three weeks made himself master of the whole island, with the loss of about forty men killed and wounded.

So many disasters humbled the pride of Louis, and he once more made proposals of peace to the Dutch. The States, however, refused to treat without the participation of the allies;

allies; when the court of Vienna appointed prince Eugene of Savoy, and Great Britain, the duke of Marlborough, as their respective plenipotentiaries. The demands of the allies, however, were thought so extravagant by the French court, that, gathering resolution from despair, they published them and their own concessions, when a new spirit at once animated the whole nation, and preparations were made by extraordinary efforts, to resist the tremendous power of the enemy.

The allies on their side were equally active. Flanders, whence it was intended to penetrate into the heart of France, was appointed to be the grand scene of action; and Marlborough and Eugene, at the head of one hundred and ten thousand men, prepared to open the campaign. Tournay soon fell, and the siege of Mons was formed; but the French endeavouring to throw succours into that town, brought on the battle of Malplaquet.

A. D. 1709.

In the night of the tenth of September, the two armies arrayed themselves in order of battle, and at eight o'clock next morning, one of the most furious contests which had taken place in this war commenced. The allies were inspired with the enthusiasm which a long train of victories had occasioned: the French fought for the defence of every thing which could animate a generous people. After prodigies of valour on both sides, the French general found it advisable to draw off his forces, leaving the victors only masters of the field, which was covered with forty thousand men, comprehending the wounded and the slain. The loss on both sides was immense; but the good fortune

of

of Marlborough still remained unbroken. Mons surrendered soon after, and with this atchievement the campaign ended. Some attempts at negotiation were again made by Louis; but in proportion as he made concessions, the allies rose in their demands.

During the preceding winter, an instance of heroism and intrepidity, almost unexampled, took place in Spain. The English regiment of Hotham, commanded by colonel Syburgh, being besieged in the castle of Alicant, refused to surrender, though they knew a mine was about to be sprung. The consequence was, that the rock on which the castle was situated, was split by the explosion, and the colonel and several officers were swallowed up in the opening, which immediately closed; but, notwithstanding this terrible accident, the garrison persisted in its defence, till general Stanhope arrived by sea to their relief, and obtained an honourable capitulation.

In England, the spirit of opposition to the objects and principles of the war began to increase, and various artifices were played off, to lessen the influence of the duke of Marlborough, who had for some time been supported by popular favour. A successful war, though severely felt, seldom tires the British nation; and it was now found expedient to blend religion with politics, in order to effect the changes which some leading persons desired.

Henry Sacheverell, a man of very moderate talents, but of a busy meddling disposition, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's, on the fifth of November, took occasion to inveigh with bitterness against the ministry, the dissenters, and the low church: he asserted the doctrine of non-

resistance,

resistance, and declaring religion to be in danger, exhorted the people to stand up in defence of the church. This sermon being printed, was speedily dispersed over the kingdom; and the ministry, sore at the reflections and principles it contained, complained to the house of commons, in consequence of which Sacheverell was taken into custody and impeached.

His trial was conducted with great form and solemnity, though neither the man nor his publication deserved any other than silent contempt. After a hearing of three weeks, which was a period of triumph and exultation to Sacheverell, he was declared guilty: he was ordered to be suspended for three years, and his sermon burnt in the presence of the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London, before whom it had been delivered.

Such, however, was the unreflecting folly of the multitude, that, though the principles of the preacher led to the slavery and degradation of the whole human race, he was attended with the voice of congratulation and respect; and those who would not join in the cry of "the church and Sacheverell," were insulted and knocked down. These disgraceful scenes were not confined to the metropolis, but extended over the whole kingdom. The court abetted them in secret; and Harley, who had now gained the ascendant over the queen, having procured the dismission of the earl of Sunderland, and a total change of men and measures, was eagerly desired, and anxiously expected by the tories.

The fame and successes of Marlborough, however, for a time delayed the execution of the projects that had been formed, and in the next campaign he took Douay, Bethune, St. Venant,

Venant, and Aire, which opened a free passage into the heart of France. No battle of any consequence took place in the Netherlands. In Spain, both parties were by turns conquerors and conquered. A. D. 1710.

In the ensuing campaign, prince Eugene acted in Germany, and marlborough was again opposed by marshal Villars, who boasted that his lines were impregnable; but his grace entered these lines, without the loss of a single soldier, and reduced the strong town of Bouchain in the very sight of the French army, which was superior to his own, and made the garrison, consisting of six thousand men, prisoners of war. A. D. 1711.

This was the last memorable military service performed by the duke of Marlborough. Harley and Bolingbroke, having supplanted him in the queen's favour, took every method which malice and envy could suggest, to exasperate the nation against the duke, who had so nobly supported its glory; and who in the course of ten victorious campaigns, had the honour of receiving as many times the thanks of parliament. When his enemies, however, came into the ministry, that very parliament voted, by a large majority, that some of his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal; and on the strength of these resolutions, originating solely from party motives, the queen dismissed him from all his employments, and the command was given to the duke of Ormond.

Of Marlborough it may be said, that he never laid siege to a town which he did not take, or fought a battle which he did not win. His understanding was as injurious to France as his arms.

arms. At St. James's, he was a perfect courtier; the head of a party in parliament, and, in foreign countries, one of the ablest negotiators that any age had produced. His address was such, that Fagal, secretary of the States-General, declared, that though his masters had often resolved to oppose what the duke was to lay before them, yet his art was such that he ever brought them into his measure.

By the death of Joseph, emperor of Germany, his brother Charles became possessed of all the hereditary states of the empire; and, soon after, being elected emperor, the object of the war was certainly changed; for, had he been allowed to retain the dominion of Spain with the empire, that balance of power, for the maintenance of which so much blood had been spilt, would have been effectually destroyed.

The queen, therefore, availed herself of this propitious incident for making amicable propositions; and a congress was appointed to meet at Utrecht. After negotiations, which were long carried on at that place, peace was signed, March 31, 1713, by all the belligerent powers, except the emperor. By the treaty of Utrecht, Spain and the Indies were confirmed to Philip; but the Netherlands and the Spanish dominions in Italy were separated from that monarchy. Naples, Sardinia, and Milan, were bestowed upon the emperor; and Sicily, with the title of king, was given to the duke of Savoy. The Dutch had a barrier assigned them against France in the Netherlands; while all that Great Britain gained, after so many splendid victories, was the demolition of Dunkirk, and the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca.

The Whigs canvassed this treaty with much

severity, while, on the other hand, the tories exalted it to the skies. The divisions, however, which took place on this occasion, kept the nation in a continual ferment, and it was not long before the very friends of the peace split into factions. The ambition of St. John, lord viscount Bolingbroke, would not suffer him to act a second part under Harley, now earl of Oxford and Mortimer; and Mrs. Masham having quarrelled with the latter, prejudiced the queen against him. Marlborough had previously retired to the continent, where he was received with that gratitude and respect which had been denied him at home; and thus the ministry, having nothing to fear from others, fell out among themselves.

The queen, harassed with discordant counsels, and perceiving her constitution giving way, it is said, began to form real designs of securing the succession to her brother. Oxford, either from timidity or principle, entered very coldly into the queen's views, and probably betrayed her to the whigs; while Bolingbroke, turning her prejudices to his own advantage, encouraged her with the most flattering hopes of success.

Oxford, no longer the obsequious compliant minister, but the turbulent factious partisan, became very ungrateful to the queen, who, notwithstanding her natural easiness of disposition, was determined to break with him. Accordingly, after a very acrimonious dialogue had passed between him and Mrs. Masham, on the 27th of July, he was deprived of his badge of office; but, as no provision had been made for supplying his place, confusion and disorder took place at court.

The fatigue of attending a long cabinet coun-

cil held on this occasion, and the altercation which passed between the ministers at the board, so agitated and affected the queen's spirits, that she was immediately seized with an apoplectic disorder, from which she never recovered. In a transient interval of recollection, she delivered the treasurer's staff to the duke of Shrewsbury, and died at Kensington on Sunday, August 1, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

A. D. 1714.

Anne was of the middle size, majestic and well-proportioned; her face was round, her features regular, her complexion ruddy, and her hair a dark brown. She possessed all the virtues which could adorn the sex in private life; and, notwithstanding the violent party feuds which embittered her repose, and disturbed her reign, she was personally beloved by her people. Her abilities, however, were very unequal to her high station; and, if the military glory of the nation was carried to the highest pitch under her auspices, it was certainly not owing to her personal conduct or counsels. Yet it must be allowed that her intentions were good, and that the vices of her government were the vices of those by whom she was influenced, while her virtues were all her own.

CHAP. XX.

The Reign of George I.

HAD Providence granted a longer life to Anne, and the daring and ambitious St. John continued to influence her councils, there seems

seems reason to suppose that attempts would have been made to restore the hereditary line; but the sudden death of the queen, by destroying the hopes of the jacobites, put an end to their present machinations, and thus removed the fears and apprehensions of the whigs.

A. D. 1714.

Agreeably to the act of settlement passed in the reign of William, George I. elector of Hanover, maternally descended from Elizabeth, daughter of James I. was proclaimed king in due form the very day of Anne's decease, and the submission of the three kingdoms was as universal, as if no pretended claim to the crown had existed.

In about six weeks, the impatience of the people was gratified with the presence of their new sovereign, who landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the lords of the regency; two days after, he made his public entry into London, and was crowned on the 11th of October following.

The hopes and fears of both parties ran high on the accession of George, but his majesty soon relieved them from this state of anxiety, by an instantaneous and total change in all the important offices under government. The duke of Marlborough, who had just returned from a voluntary exile, was restored to his former posts, with several new appointments; the earl of Nottingham was declared president of the council, the great seal was given to lord Cowper, the privy seal to the earl of Wharton, and the vice-royalty of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland.

At the same time, lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state,

Mr. Pulteney secretary at war, and Mr. Walpole, who had undertaken to manage the house of commons, was made paymaster to the army. The post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed on the duke of Montrose, and the duke of Argyle was made commander in chief of the forces in that country.

Thus the whigs obtained an ascendancy, both in and out of parliament; but instead of attacking their enemies, the tories, on the general grounds of their conduct, which had been very culpable, they erected their batteries solely against the peace which they had concluded. The earl of Oxford, the duke of Ormond, the earl of Strafford, and viscount St. John, were impeached on account of the parts they had acted in this affair. Ormond and St. John fled; but though Oxford, Prior, and some others, were excepted out of the act of grace, they all escaped punishment; so fearful are persons in power of establishing a precedent, which may sometimes be turned against themselves.

The changes in the administration had been effected without any direct opposition; but when the first emotions of fear or of duty had subsided, the malcontents of the jacobite and tory factions broke out into various acts of sedition and riot in the metropolis. From London the infection gradually spread to the more distant parts of the kingdom, where insurrections became general, though fortunately without concert.

The commons, dreading the rising spirit of revolt, addressed his majesty to take vigorous measures for suppressing the rioters; the habeas corpus

corpus act was suspended, and a new act was passed, by which it was decreed, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of the peace or other officer, and had heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

From England the prevailing discontents were speedily communicated to Scotland, where the union had hitherto remained unpopular. The English jacobites fomented this aversion; and a correspondence being established between the disaffected of both kingdoms, the chevalier de St. George was flattered with the hopes of seeing a majority in both nations declare in his favour.

The sudden death of Louis XIV. however, was no small disappointment to the Pretender. That prince had privately supplied the Chevalier with the means of fitting out a small armament in the port of Havre; but the duke of Orleans, on whom the regency of the kingdom devolved, adopted a new system of politics, and entered into the strictest alliance with the king of Great Britain.

The partisans of the Pretender, however, had gone too far to recede. The earl of Mar, assembling three hundred of his vassals, proclaimed the chevalier, and, on the 6th of September, set up his standard at Brae-Mar. Then assuming the title of lieutenant-general of the newly proclaimed sovereign's forces, he published a declaration exhorting the people

A. D. 1715.

people to arm for their lawful prince, and this was followed by a manifesto, in which the national grievances were enumerated and aggravated, and redress promised.

Meanwhile, the government of England having arrested the earls of Hume, Wigtown, and Kinnoul, lord Deskford, and Lockhart of Carnwarth, these and other suspected persons were committed prisoners to Edinburgh castle. The bridge of Stirling was secured by the king's troops, and the duke of Argyle set out to take the principal command, while the earl of Sutherland sailed for the north, to raise his vassals in defence of his liege sovereign. Other heads of clans did the same, and thus it soon became apparent that the voice of Scotland was far from being general in favour of the Pretender.

In the north of England, however, the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders, proclaimed the Chevalier in Morpeth and Alnwick. Having afterwards made an ineffectual attempt on Newcastle, the insurgents retired to Hexham, and in their progress northwards were reinforced by a body of troops under lords Kenmuir, Carnwarth, and Wigtown.

At Kelso the rebels were joined by Mackintosh with a body of highlanders, and the party, now thinking themselves strong enough to enter on action, Foster opened his commission of general, and having proclaimed the Pretender, marched to Penrith. The posse comitatus of Cumberland, which had been assembled by the bishop, fled at the approach of this small army, which

which advancing by the way of Kendal and Lancaster, took possession of Preston without opposition.

The career of the rebels was now stopped. General Wills, with six battalions of horse and one battalion of foot advanced to the bridge of Ribble, before the rebel chiefs received intelligence of their approach. At first the king's troops met with a warm reception, but next day being reinforced with three regiments of dragoons, under general Carpenter, the town was invested on all sides.

The rebels now proposed to capitulate, but the general refusing to treat, they surrendered at discretion. The noblemen and leaders were secured, and sent prisoners to London. Some deserters were tried by martial law and executed; and lord Charles Murray, son of the duke of Athol, was condemned for the same, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool, till the pleasure of government respecting them should be known.

The very day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston, those under the earl of Mar, being joined by the earl of Seaforth and his northern clans, attacked the duke of Argyle, whose troops were far inferior in point of numbers. A bloody battle ensued, in which both sides claimed the victory: for though the duke's right wing soon routed the opposing rebels, the highlanders charged his left with such impetuosity, that they forced it to retire. The advantage, however, remained with the loyalists.

In this desperate situation of his affairs, the chevalier, putting to sea from Dunkirk in a small vessel, landed at Peterhead, on the east coast

coast of Scotland, December 22; and being conducted by his principal adherents to Fetteresso, was proclaimed king by the earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. His declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the adjacent counties; and after receiving addresses from the episcopal clergy and laity of that communion in Aberdeenshire, he made his public entry into Dundee. On the 7th of January he arrived at Scoon, where he assumed all the functions of royalty, and fixed his coronation for the 23d of the same month. A regular council was now formed, proclamations were issued for a general thanksgiving on account of his safe arrival, a convention of the states was summoned, and all fencible men were ordered to repair to his standard.

A. D. 1716.

This dream of royalty, however, was of short duration. The duke of Ormond, having in vain tried to raise the people on the western coast, and the jacobites finding themselves destitute of money, arms, and every thing necessary for war; and besides, beginning to be hemmed in on all sides by the king's troops, it was determined in a grand council, notwithstanding a pathetic harangue from the Chevalier, to abandon the enterprise. Thus deserted, and hotly pursued by the duke of Argyle, the Pretender was glad to embark on board a French ship which lay in the harbour of Montrose, from which he sailed to France, accompanied by Mar, Melford, Drummond, Bulkeley, and several other persons of distinction.

The rebellion being thus suppressed, impeach-

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ments were sent from the commons against the nobility who had been engaged in this affair; but of the leaders, the earls of Derwentwater and Kenmure alone suffered death, and only a small number of those of the lower ranks were executed, in comparison with the number who were found guilty. About one thousand who submitted to the royal mercy petitioned for transportation, which being granted, they were shipped for America.

A. D. 1716

In order to give stability to government, on the 10th of April, the duke of Devonshire brought a bill into the house of lords for enlarging the continuance of parliament, which was supported by all the whig party; and though it met with a strenuous opposition from the earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Pawlett, it passed by a large majority. In the lower house it met with the same success; and thus the duration of parliament was prolonged from three to seven years, by the decision of that body alone which derived most benefit from the measure.

The next important event which presents itself in this reign, is the sudden rise, and as sudden fall, of the South Sea company, which had been incorporated in the eleventh year of queen Anne.

In the year 1729, on the royal recommendation to the commons to take the national debt into their consideration, a scheme was adopted to reduce all the funds into one. The bank and South Sea company bade against each other, and the terms offered by the latter were so advantageous that government closed with them.

The stock of the company, in consequence, soon rose from 130 to 400; and though the Mis-

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A. D. 1720. sissippi bubble of Law had only burst the preceding year, and ruined half the people of property in France, so infatuated were the people of England, that the example did not operate in the least as a warning.

It is said that sir John Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, was the person who projected this South Sea scheme. This man, backed by a few adherents of very moderate talents, first imposed on the majority of the directors of the South Sea company, and then on the whole nation.

The tricks of the stock exchange, though so often detected, still impose on a number of credulous individuals; but at this period a general madness seems to have seized all ranks, and the wisest had little reason to laugh at his shallow neighbour. The most contemptible impositions were set down for facts; the most ridiculous reports of interested individuals, reinforced by the general delusion, assisted the conspiracy, by holding out the idea that Port Mahon and Gibraltar were to be exchanged for some places in Peru, by which means the English trade to the South Seas would be protected and enlarged: the directors of the company having opened their books for a subscription of one million, at the rate of 300 for 100 capital stock, such was the eagerness of the multitude to subscribe, that in five days two millions were entered in the books, and stock advanced to double the price of the first payment.

By a repetition of the same artifices, and the promise of high dividends, South Sea stock at last rose to one thousand. Exchange-alley was daily filled with an infatuated crowd of all ranks; but at

at last the tide of hope began to ebb, and in about three weeks stock sunk to one hundred and fifty.

Disappointment and despair now seized the minds of the numerous adventurers, and the clamours of the people increasing to a degree that excited alarm, expresses were sent to the king, who was then at Hanover, to hasten his return. His majesty was not long in obeying the summons, and parliament being sitting, a bill passed for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accómptants of the South Sea company from leaving the kingdom. A bill was next brought in to disqualify some of the principal officers of the company from holding any similar office in any public company; their book and papers were secured, and their estates were confiscated.

The parliament having executed just vengeance on the projectors and managers of the South Sea scheme, next concerted means for the relief of individuals who had been so deeply injured. The capital stock of the company amounting to thirteen millions over what was allotted to all the proprietors, seven millions of this stock was ordered to be paid to the public, and the remainder was to be divided among the proprietors.

Apprehensions, either real or pretended, from the machinations of the jacobites, gave occasion to increase the standing army; and an act was passed, in which forty-six articles of war were enumerated, subjecting military offenders to fine, imprisonment, whipping, and death, under the sentence of courts-martial.

By the act which settled the succession in the line

line of Hanover, among other wise limitations it had been provided, that England should not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to its crown, and that no person who should hereafter come to the possession of the crown should leave the realm without the consent of parliament.

The salutary limitations of the act of settlement were now repealed, and its provisoes so ill observed, that a large sum of English money was granted to purchase Bremen and Verden, in order to annex them to the king's foreign territories.

The Spanish king having taken Sardinia, and invaded Sicily, Great Britain, France, Holland, and the emperor, formed a quadruple alliance against his catholic majesty, upon which sir George Byng was sent with twenty-one ships of the line into the Mediterranean, where the Spaniards had a fleet of twenty-seven sail. On the last day of July the English admiral came up with the Spaniards off cape Passaro, on the south east point of Sicily, and an engagement taking place, he took ten men of war, with the admiral and real-admiral, and sunk four. After this, sir George destroyed seven Spanish men of war, and great quantities of naval stores, on the coast of Sicily and Biscay

A. D. 1718.

In return for this, the Spaniards sent a squadron, with ten thousand regular troops, under the duke of Ormond, to invade England. These, however, were happily dispersed by a storm, and rendered unable to proceed. However, the marquis of Tullibardine, the earls of Marischal and Seaforth, and about three hundred Spanish soldiers,

diers, landed in Scotland, where they were soon joined by two thousand highlanders, but being attacked by general Wightman, with twelve hundred men, were entirely defeated.

Soon after lord Cobham made a descent on Spain, and taking Vigo, his Catholic majesty acceded to the terms of the quadruple alliance, a principal object of which, as far as related to England, was to exclude the Pretender, and to prevent him from receiving the assistance of the French government.

A. D. 1721.

Early in May, it was reported that the king had received intelligence from the duke of Orleans of a plot against his person and government. In consequence, a camp was immediately formed in Hyde Park; the military officers were ordered to repair to their posts; the States of Holland were desired to have their auxiliary troops in readiness to be embarked, and some suspected persons were apprehended in Scotland.

Among the individuals who were supposed to be implicated in this treasonable conspiracy were Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, the earl of Orrery, lords Grey and North, Cochrane and Smith from Scotland, Chrisopher Layer, a young templar, George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, Cotton, Bingley, and Fleetwood, Englishmen, and one Naynoe, an Irish priest.

A. D. 1722.

On the meeting of the new parliament, his majesty, in his speech, developed the nature and extent of the plot, which had only been frustrated by a timely discovery. To this formidable representation, Mr. Robert Walpole, the prime minister, added se-

veral particulars, which shewed the dangerous aims and objects of the jacobites.

To corroborate the whole, an original and printed copy of a declaration, signed by the Pretender at *Lucca*, was laid before the house. In this curious paper the Chevalier expatiated on the grievances of the nation, and calling upon the people to assert their rights, gravely proposed that if king George would relinquish the throne, the right heir, in return, would bestow on the said king George the title of king in *his native dominions*, and secure his succession to the British sceptre, whenever, in due course, his natural right should take place.

In revenge, a bill was prepared by the commons to raise one hundred thousand pounds on the real and personal estates of papists, towards defraying the expences incurred by the late rebellion and disorders; and all persons of that faith in Scotland were called upon to register their names and real estates.

These pecuniary mulcts were followed by the trial, conviction, and execution of Layer. No evidence appeared, or at least was produced for grounding any process against the nobles who had been arrested; but Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, had made himself too conspicuous to escape *punishment*. On the mere evidence of hearsay and conjecture, a bill of pains and penalties passed the lower house against him, and was sent up to the lords, when the trial commenced. All that could be produced against him was certain decyphered letters, which were construed as treasonable from a *name in the* direction of one of them, said to be a cant term for the Pretender. The oaths of the clerks of the

the post-office were taken as sufficient evidence of their being the hand-writing of Kelly, amanuensis to the bishop, and this was considered as a proof that his employer was guilty. In short, the weakness, the insufficiency, and the contradiction of the evidence were notorious to all, yet a majority voted in favour of the bill, by which he was deprived of all his ecclesiastical offices, dignities, and benefices, disabled from holding or enjoying any office, dignity, benefice, or employment in future, adjudged to be for ever banished the realm, and all other his majesty's dominions, and ordered to depart out of the same before the 25th of June, 1723. It was also declared a capital offence to harbour or correspond with him, without exception to any persons whatsoever, and every offence against this act was to be tried in any county within the realm of Great Britain.

The punishment of the bishop of Rochester seems to have been a blow levelled at the high church party, who looked up to this prelate as their chief ornament and support. The whole kingdom resounded with their complaints of the indignity and injustice that had been offered to the episcopal order, and public prayers were offered up for his health in all the churches and chapels in London and Westminster. The bishop died in exile a few years after.

The remainder of the reign of George the first presents little except a tedious repetition of intricate and contradictory treaties, most of which were inimical to the interests of this country. To enable the king to fulfil some new engagements with the kings of Prussia and Denmark, an additional number of sea-

men and land forces were voted by the commons.

Soon after, on a close alliance taking place between the courts of Spain and Vienna, the king felt alarmed for his German dominions, and a negotiation between Prussia, France, and England took place at Hanover, which ended in a defensive treaty for fifteen years.

A. D. 1727. The hostile designs of Spain, in conjunction with the emperor, becoming daily more apparent, the naval and military force of the kingdom were put on a respectable footing; and in order to cut off the supplies which furnished Spain with the means of annoyance, admiral Hosier was directed to sail to the West Indies, with the intent of making prize of the galleons, which annually import the treasures of America into the mother country. This design, however, being divulged before it could be executed, the treasure, amounting to six millions sterling, was unloaded, and carried back to Panama.

It was now asserted in parliament that the objects of Spain were to place the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain, and to recover Gibraltar and Port Mahon. Mutual affronts and recriminations followed between the powers at variance, and the season for action seemed to be approaching. George entered into a more strict alliance with the kings of France and Denmark, subsidized Sweden, formed a convention with Hesse Cassel, and determined to send a strong fleet into the Baltic to check the Russians, who were suspected of being in the interests of Spain and the emperor.

Parliament gave its entire sanction to these measures,

measures, and voted an adequate supply. Meanwhile, hostilities were commenced against the dominions of Great Britain, by the Spaniards investing Gibraltar. This place was defended by colonel Clayton, and after the enemy had lain before it for some months, and lost ten thousand men, they found it expedient to raise the siege. The garrison did not lose more than three hundred during this investment.

Early in the spring sir Charles Wager had been dispatched with a reinforcement to the garrison of Gibraltar, and sir J hn Norris set sail for the Baltic, where he was joined by a Danish squadron. Every where preparations were making for a war, which threatened to embroil all Europe. A stop, however, was put to the farther effusion of human blood, by the mediation of the king of France; and at length twelve preliminary articles were signed by the respective plenipotentiaries, by which it was stipulated, "that hostilities should immediately cease, that the charter of the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years, and that a congress should, in four months, assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe."

George did not live to enjoy the agreeable prospect which his successful negotiations now opened. Being suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder, on the road from Holland to Hanover, he was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnaburgh, where he expired on Sunday, the 11th of June, 1727, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

George I. was of a moderate stature; his features

tures were regular and manly, and his countenance grave and majestic. He was an able and experienced general, and a consummate politician. Though the rage of party was never stronger than during his reign, he was allowed by all to have an honest heart; and he was beloved by those who had the best opportunity of appreciating his worth. He governed England with great mildness, was an enemy to persecution, and never wished to encroach on the civil or religious liberties of his people. That he felt too strong a predilection for his native country, Hanover, cannot be said; but that he shewed it too evidently at the expence of Great Britain, is a fact which will not be denied.

George I. had been long separated from the princes Sophia, his queen, who never came into England: of course the court at St. James's was never brilliant, nor did his majesty seem fond of etiquette.

CHAP. XXI.

The Reign of George II.

A. D. 1727. IT was upwards of a month after the demise of George I. before that melancholy event was known in England. Immediately on the news being communicated to sir Robert Walpole, that minister carried it to the prince and princess of Wales at Richmond, who, removing to Leicester-house, a privy council was instantly assembled, and next day George II. was proclaimed king, with the usual solemnities. His majesty took and subscribed the

the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of union, and declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in church and state. At the same time he avowed his intention to adhere to all treaties which his father had entered into; and he continued all the great officers of state in their places.

George II. in 1704, had married the princess Wilhelmina Carolina Dorothea of Brandenburgh Anspach, and with her was crowned at Westminster, on the 11th of October, with great magnificence.

In his first speech to parliament, the king professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their civil and religious rights, and by studying to lessen the expences of government in all its departments.

Sir Robert Walpole followed these gracious assurances, by moving, that eight hundred thousand pounds a year should be settled on his majesty during life; and, though considerable opposition was made to this increase of revenue, by Mr. Shippen and other patriots, the motion was carried by a great majority; and a liberal settlement was made for the queen, in case she should survive his majesty. In short, numbers who had been dissatisfied under the former reign, now expressed their confidence in the king; and, for a time, all parties seemed to be united in affection to his person, and in submission to the proposals of his ministers.

It had long been maintained by political writers, that excises are the most proper ways and means of supporting government in a long war, because

because they equalize the burdens, and render them proportionable to the great wants of the public. Agreeably to this idea, though covertly under pretence of preventing frauds, the minister proposed, that a partial excise on tobacco should be levied. This measure met with a violent opposition, not from the consideration of that train of dependents it would produce, but from the dread of its extension to other articles; and the cry of a general excise was set up by the country-party in parliament, and echoed through the nation. The ferment, in short, became so great, that though the minister had a triumphant majority of sixty-one in the house of commons, he was obliged to wave the advantage, and abandon his scheme.

A. D. 1733.

A. D. 1737.

In a future session of parliament, the house having resolved itself into a committee to consider of the national debt, that worthy citizen and steady patriot, sir John Barnard, moved, "That the king should be enabled to raise money, by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing, at an interest not exceeding three per cent.; which sum, so raised, should be applied towards redeeming the South-sea annuities; and, that such of the said annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities, should be preferred to all others." The adoption of this measure he enforced with unanswerable arguments; but ministry, unwilling that the merit of the plan should originate with opposition, set it aside, without being able to impeach its justice and policy.

In the course of the same session, an act was passed, subjecting the stage and dramatic writers to certain restraints. The number of play-houses was

was limited, and all pieces intended for representation were to be submitted to the lord chamberlain, without whose licence they could not be acted.

In the following year, the jealousy of the commercial part of the nation had nearly involved the country in war. Loud and reiterated complaints were made of the encroachments of the French on the Mississippi, and of the depredations of the Spaniards on the British merchants. A remonstrance was in consequence presented to the court of Madrid, and a convention was appointed amicably to settle the dispute; and, though the treaty of Seville, in 1729, seemed to have adjusted all claims, and provided against all differences, this nation, ever eager for war, wished to seek or to find occasion for a rupture. A. D. 1738.

Walpole was fond of peace, and endeavoured to preserve it by every means that did not compromise the honour of the nation. He therefore became unpopular, for the very quality that ought to have rendered him most particularly beloved. The Spaniards, probably, availing themselves of his known disposition, began in reality to insult and distress the commerce of Great Britain: they disputed the right of the English to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and collect salt in the island of Tortugas. The captains of guarda costas made a practice of boarding and plundering English vessels, on pretence of searching them for contraband commodities, and various other acts of cruelty and injustice were committed. In particular, a Spanish commissioned pirate, having cut, or tore off the ear of one captain Jenkins, bade him carry

it to his king, and tell him, that the Spaniards would serve him in the same manner, should an opportunity present itself.

These outrages were loudly and justly complained of. Petitions from different parts of the kingdom were presented to the lower house; and on sir John Barnard moving, that all the memorials and papers relative to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the commons, the minister found himself obliged to comply.

Every endeavour to prevent a rupture with Spain was used by ministry, and a convention was at last concluded and ratified, by which the king of Spain bound himself to make reparation to the subjects of Great Britain for their losses, by certain stipulated payments, within a limited time. The minister bestowed the highest eulogium on this convention; but, with all his influence, he could only obtain a majority of twenty-eight, to an address of approbation.

A. D. 1738.

On this occasion Mr. William Pitt, who afterwards rendered himself so illustrious by his eloquence, his virtues, and his talents, declaimed against the convention, as equally insecure and dishonourable to Great Britain, and his arguments and powers of oratory had much weight in strengthening the ranks of opposition.

In the upper house the minister was likewise very hard pushed, and it was with difficulty he stood his ground. At the head of those who voted against an address was the prince of Wales, who, on account of a family misunderstanding, had joined the opposition with all the interest he could command.

Too much anxiety always defeats its own

ends; and the Spaniards, who took courage from the forbearance of the English, having violated the terms of the convention, there was no alternative but vigorous opposition. Letters of marque and reprisal were therefore granted against Spain; a large fleet was assembled at Spithead; the land forces were augmented, and an embargo was laid on all merchant vessels. Walpole, however, still held out the olive-branch; but all his overtures for accommodation being rejected, war was at last formally declared.

A. D. 1739.

Notwithstanding the arrogance of the Spaniards, they were but ill prepared for hostilities. Admiral Vernon having boasted, in the house of commons, that he would take Porto Bello with six ships, was dispatched thither, and actually performed this hazardous service, almost without opposition.

On the arrival of this news, both houses readily granted supplies for carrying on the war; and by augmenting the naval and military force, and by subsidizing foreign powers, there was full occasion for all their liberality.

War, however, was not the sphere of sir Robert Walpole. Expensive plans of operation were projected; but, from want of judgment in the choice of proper officers, little was accomplished deserving notice. In consequence, the minister began to be attacked in the house of commons with much asperity: his errors and his misfortunes were equally turned against him; and it was evident that his administration was verging towards a close.

England soon found herself engaged in a fresh pursuit. Charles VI. emperor of Germany, and

and the last male sovereign of the house of Austria, dying in 1740, was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, married to the grand duke of Tuscany; but, though this princess became queen of Hungary, by virtue of the pragmatic sanction, the restless ambition of her neighbours would not suffer her to enjoy those rights which had been guaranteed by all the powers of Europe.

Frederick, king of Prussia, young and ardent, was no sooner informed of the emperor's death, than he laid claim to Silesia, which he entered at the head of twenty thousand men. The elector of Bavaria, at the same time, refused to acknowledge the arch-duchess as queen of Hungary and Bohemia, alledging, that he himself had legitimate pretensions to these dominions; and thus all Germany being thrown into a flame, the arch-duchess made requisition of twelve thousand men, stipulated by treaty to be furnished her by England.

In the present posture of affairs, men could be less conveniently spared than money; accordingly sir Robert Walpole moved, that two hundred thousand pounds should be granted in aid to the queen of Hungary; which motion was acceded to by a great majority. The events of the war, however, were not equal to the waste of money for its prosecution. Sir Chaloner Ogle, in his passage to Jamaica, with a fleet of one hundred and seventy sail, met with a terrible storm in the Bay of Biscay; but pursuing his voyage, he fell in with a French squadron, which refusing to bring to, a smart engagement ensued, before it was known who the English were contending with. On the discovery being made, hostilities

hostilities ceased, and the respective commanders reciprocally excused themselves, after a considerable loss on both sides.

On the arrival of Ogle at Jamaica, he joined admiral Vernon, who was now at the head of a fleet, capable of undertaking any enterprise, had the season been favourable; but Ogle had been detained till it was too late to act; and though an attempt was made on Carthagena, from some unfortunate misunderstanding between the admiral and the general, it failed of success, with the loss of many men, the greatest part of whom were martyrs to the season and the climate.

Another unsuccessful expedition to Cuba, finished the losses and disgraces of this campaign, which put the nation into such an ill humour, that a general election taking place, notwithstanding all the ministerial influence, it could not command a sufficient majority to secure its continuance.

A. D. 1741.

On the meeting of parliament, sir Robert Walpole, however, carried the address to the throne; but, on trying an election petition, he had only a majority of six voices in favour of the ministerial candidate.* The next question of power was decided against him; and, having in vain endeavoured to bring over the prince of Wales to his party, by the most splendid offers, which were rejected with contempt, he prudently meditated a retreat. The king adjourned both houses of parliament

* Before the passing of the justly famous Grenville act, disputed elections were decided, rather by votes, than by their merits.

for a fortnight; and in the interim, sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments, after being a minister for twenty years.

A general and frantic joy succeeded this revolution; yet, if the character of Walpole is candidly appreciated, this country has seldom possessed a better or wiser minister. That he governed by a venal influence must be allowed, but those who suffered themselves to be corrupted were more to be blamed than the corrupter; and when we contemplate his aversion to war, we cannot deny him the tribute of our applause.

A. D. 1742.

In the new administration, the duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Pelham kept their former stations. The earl of Wilmington succeeded sir Robert Walpole as first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Sandys was appointed chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Carteret received the seals as secretary of state for the foreign department; and Mr. Pulteney, who refused any official station, was sworn of the privy council, and soon after created earl of Bath.

The people soon burst out into invectives against the new ministers, as apostates and betrayers of their country. Carteret, who had inveighed with peculiar acrimony against continental alliances, was now the open defender of such connections, and sought to gain the royal favour by going greater lengths that way than his predecessor had done. One hundred thousand landmen and seamen were voted for the service of the year; half a million was granted to the queen of Hungary, and the subsidies were continued

continued to Denmark and Hesse Cassel. Several thousands of Hanoverians, Hessians, and Austrians, were taken into British pay: and a continental warfare having been determined on, the earl of Stair was appointed generalissimo of the British and allied forces in Germany.

The king himself, accompanied by his younger son, the duke of Cumberland, arrived in June, at the camp of Aschaffenburg; but, by the masterly manœuvres of marshal Noailles, was soon in a critical situation. Pushing forward to join a body of twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians, near the village of Dettingen, he found himself enclosed on all sides by the enemy, insomuch, that a retreat was impossible; and had not the rashness of the duke de Grammont, by descending from the defiles into the open plain, given the British an opportunity of fighting on equal terms, a surrender or total destruction must have attended them. Noailles was obliged to quit his position, in order to support de Grammont. The French charged with impetuosity, the allied army received the shock with cool intrepidity. The king himself displayed much personal courage; and the French were at last repulsed, and obliged to repass the Maine with the loss of six thousand men. In this action, the duke of Cumberland, who had passed his noviciate in war with great credit, was wounded.

In September, twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries joined the allied army; but lord Stair threw up his commission in disgust, declaring he would no longer lend his name to military operations which he was not allowed to direct.

In the mean time, the French, who now became

came principals in the war, proceeded with vigour in every quarter; but their chief expectations were placed on a projected invasion of England. The mild and pacific Fleury, had been succeeded by the imperious cardinal Tencin, who, judging from the violence of the parliamentary debates, that the nation was ripe for a revolt, thought it a favourable opportunity to enable the Pretender to try his fortune.

Sir John Norris, however, appearing with a fleet superior to that which was to convey the forces from Dunkirk, the expedition was laid aside for that season; but in the Netherlands they had considerable success, under marshal count Saxe, a natural son of Augustus, king of Poland, by the countess Koningsmark.

A. D. 1744.

A. D. 1745.

Early next year marshal Saxe, accompanied by the king of France and the dauphin, took the field. The allies, commanded by the duke of Cumberland, proceeded to relieve Tournay, which was closely besieged. On the 11th of May, finding the French army strongly encamped, under cover of the village of Fontenoy, they determined to hazard a battle. Though the attempt was considered as rather glorious than prudent, the allied army at first had the advantage; but Saxe bringing up the corps de reserve, they at last were obliged to retreat. Marshal Saxe, though ill of a mortal disease, visited all the posts in a litter, and perceived that the day was his own. More than ten thousand of the allies were left behind; the loss of the French was nearly equal; but the consequences of this furious battle were all against the English and their allies. Tournay

nay surrendered, Ghent and Bruges were captured; Ostend, Dendermond, Newport, and Aeth were successively reduced; while the allies retired for shelter beyond the canal of Antwerp.

The emperor Charles VII. for whom this war had been undertaken, was now dead, yet this did not in the least restore the tranquillity of Europe. The grand duke of Tuscany was declared supreme head of the Germanic empire in his room; and, though the objects that first inspired the contest were in a manner changed or forgotten, war between the French and the allies continued with unabated fury.

About the middle of the summer, the pretender Charles, a young man of a sanguine disposition, was spirited on to risque an invasion of Great Britain. Being furnished with some money and encouraged by magnificent promises from the court of France, he embarked for Scotland on board a small frigate, attended by the marquis of Tullibardine, and some few desperate characters. He brought with him only seven officers, and two thousand stand of arms, for the conquest of the whole British empire; and, as if fortune intended early to warn him of his folly, his convoy, a ship of sixty guns, was so disabled by the Lun man of war, that she was obliged to return to Brest. The Chevalier, however, continued his voyage, and landing on the coast of Lochaber, July 27, soon found himself joined by fifteen hundred men, while he dispersed manifestoes throughout Scotland, in order to induce others to join him.

The rashness of this enterprise astonished Europe. It awakened the fears of the timid, the

the pity of the wise, and the loyalty of all. England appeared almost unanimous against the young Pretender. Proceeding, however, to Perth, he caused his father to be proclaimed king of Great Britain, and his army gained new accessions as he advanced.

At this crisis, the king was at Hanover. The lords of the regency immediately dispatched a messenger to him with the news, and offered a reward of thirty thousand pounds for the apprehension of the Chevalier. Loyal addresses flowed in from all parts, and the former discontents seemed to be forgotten in the fears of the present moment.

Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in North Britain, advanced at the head of what troops he could collect to Inverness; but the Pretender marched by another route to Edinburgh, which surrendered without resistance. Here he caused his father again to be proclaimed; and fixed his own residence in Holyrood house, the palace of his ancestors.

Cope, receiving intelligence of these transactions, hastened towards the capital, and, on the 20th of September, encamped with his army of about three thousand regular troops, near the village of Preston Pans, in the vicinity of Edinburgh. Next morning he was attacked sword in hand, by the Pretender, at the head of an equal number of Highlanders, and, in a few minutes, the English were put wholly to the route, with the loss of about five hundred men.

Instead of pushing this advantage, however, Charles returned to Edinburgh, where he wasted his time in the idle parade of royalty, till the consternation

consternation which this defeat had occasioned was overcome. But being now joined by lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, Balmerino, and many other persons of distinction, and receiving large supplies from France, the enterprise began to wear a more serious aspect; and he found it necessary to attempt something to keep up the spirits of his adherents. Accordingly, proceeding southwards, he reached Carlisle in November, which surrendered to him; and advancing from thence to Manchester, he was received with some demonstrations of joy, but found a much smaller number ready to join him than he expected. Crossing the Mersey at Stockport, Charles marched through Macclesfield and Congleton to Derby; at which last place, hearing that the king had determined to take the field in person, and to erect the standard of England on Finchley-common, he adopted the sudden resolution of retreating into Scotland, which he effected with all his artillery and military stores, in spite of two hostile armies, one under general Wade, and the other under sir John Ligonier, which were stationed to intercept him. In this retreat, the strictest military discipline was observed, and no violence was offered to the peaceable inhabitants of the country through which the rebels passed.

The duke of Cumberland being now invested with the chief command, set out for the north, and Carlisle, which had been garrisoned by the Pretender, in a few days surrendered to him at discretion. Meanwhile, Charles was levying heavy contributions on Glasgow, in revenge for the loyalty it had displayed, and soon after proceeded to invest the castle of Stirling. General

neral Hawley, commander of the king's forces in that quarter, marching to Falkirk, determined to bring the rebels to an action. The latter, however, began the attack on the seventeenth of January, and Charles, at the head of his troops, giving the signal to fire, the first volley threw the royal forces into confusion. The horse retreating with precipitation, fell upon the infantry, and the rebels following up their blow, Hawley retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving part of the tents and artillery in the hands of the enemy.

A. D. 1746.

This was the last advantage of any consequence, which the Pretender gained. The duke of Cumberland, who had reached Edinburgh, put himself at the head of fourteen thousand troops, and advanced to Aberdeen, the rebels flying all the way before him.

After spending some time in refreshing his troops, the duke renewed his march northwards, and in twelve days arrived at the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey. Here the rebels might have disputed his passage; but being without council and without subordination, they made no opposition.

At length, the royal general received information that the rebels had encamped on the plains of Culloden, about nine miles from Inverness, where they appeared determined to give him battle. On the sixteenth of April, the duke of Cumberland left Nairn early in the morning, and after a march of nine miles, perceived the enemy drawn up in order of battle, in thirteen divisions.

The engagement commenced about one o'clock in the afternoon. The highlanders,

trusting

trusting to their success at Preston Pans, rushed on with their broad swords and axes; but the royal troops being prepared for this mode of fighting, received them with fixed bayonets, and kept up a continual firing by platoons, which did amazing execution; while the cannon of the Pretender was badly served, and ill directed. The highlanders, however, stood the fire of the English for some time; but being impatient for a closer engagement, about five hundred of them attacked the British left wing with such impetuosity, that the first line was disordered by the onset. Two battalions advancing, however, to support it, galled the enemy by a terrible and close discharge; and the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, at the same time pulling down a park wall, which guarded the rebels' flank, fell upon them, and made a horrible slaughter. In a few minutes, they were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and slain, to the number of three thousand. Immense numbers too were slaughtered in the pursuit, as orders had been given to allow no quarter.

Thus, in one short hour, all the hopes and ambition of the Pretender sunk together, and instead of thrones and sceptres, he saw himself a miserable outcast. The conquerors spread terror wherever they came; and the whole surrounding country was one sad scene of slaughter, desolation, and plunder. Charles, wandering from mountain to mountain in disguise, at length, after many escapes and distresses, found means to embark on board a small vessel, which conveyed him in safety to Morlaix in Bretagne.

The scaffold now gleaned what the sword had

had spared. Seventeen rebel officers were executed at Kennington-common near London. Lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Lovat, the latter most deservedly for his treachery and duplicity, suffered decapitation on Tower-hill, as did the earl of Derwentwater, on his former sentence in 1716. Of the nobles who had been engaged in this enterprise, and who had been taken, the earl of Cromarty alone obtained a pardon.

The same year that the rebellion in Scotland was terminated, the English made an unsuccessful attempt on l'Orient in France; and in the Netherlands, the French not only gained considerable victories at Roucroux and La Feldt, but also took Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, which put the enemy in possession of the whole navigation of the Scheldt.

These advantages, however, in favour of France, were counterbalanced in other quarters. In Italy, the French having attempted to enter Piedmont, at the head of thirty-four thousand men, were defeated, and their general killed. Two squadrons had been fitted out, the one to make a descent on the British colonies in America, and the other to assist the operations of their arms in the East Indies. These were intercepted and attacked by admirals Anson and Warren, and nine ships were taken, with a vast quantity of bullion on board, which was carried in triumph through the streets of London to the bank. Soon after, the French fleet received a more signal defeat from admiral Hawke, in which seven ships of the line and several frigates were taken. Forty merchant

A. D. 1747.

chant ships, with valuable cargoes from St. Domingo, fell into the hands of the English, in the course of this year.

In November, a new parliament had been convened, in which the Pelhams resumed their stations, and the earl of Granville appeared as secretary of state. The king, in his speech at the opening of the session, signified that a congress would speedily meet at Aix la Chapelle, to arrange preliminaries for a peace; and a few months after, his majesty communicated the agreeable intelligence, that the preliminaries had been actually signed, on the basis of a general restitution of conquests. A. D. 1748.

By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in which the earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson were the British plenipotentiaries, it was stipulated, that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastella, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir apparent to the Spanish throne, and his heirs; but in case of his succeeding to the crown of Spain, that then these dominions should revert to the house of Austria. That the fortifications of Dunkirk to the sea, should be demolished; that the ships annually sent with slaves to the coast of Spain, should have this privilege continued for four years; that his Prussian majesty should be secured in his possession of Silesia, which he had conquered; and that the queen of Hungary should be guaranteed in her patrimonial dominions. No mention was made of searching English vessels in the American seas, which claim seems to have been totally abandoned; but with the exception of gaining this point, it would be difficult to say what Great Britain had accomplished, by a war in which so many millions had been expended.

 Though

Though war had ceased in Europe, both the English and French carried on hostilities in the East and West Indies; but these infractions of treaty being composed, the English ministry attempted to alleviate the evils resulting from a long warfare, by encouraging the fisheries, and adopting other commercial regulations.

The prince of Wales, who by a wise policy had endeared himself to men of genius and talents of all ranks, occasioned Bolingbroke's celebrated pamphlet, containing the picture of a "patriot king;" but the hopes which his royal highness had inspired, were suddenly and fatally blasted by his premature death, after a short illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age. He had married Augusta, princess of Saxe Gotha, by whom he left several children, and to whose care he committed their education.

A. D. 1751.

Several nations on the continent, having reformed their calendar under the auspices of pope Gregory the thirteenth, and much confusion in mercantile transactions arising from the variation, the British parliament decreed, that the new year should commence agreeably to the Gregorian reform, and that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the second and fourteenth of September, should be omitted, so that the day succeeding the second, should be called and accounted the fourteenth.

A. D. 1752.

A. D. 1754.

Mr. Pelham, who died in the meridian of his life and reputation, and was esteemed and lamented both by his sovereign and the nation, was after a short interval succeeded by Mr. Legge, as chancellor of the exchequer.

When

When parliament met next session, a message was delivered from the king, acquainting the commons that he had thought it expedient to augment his forces both by sea and land, in order to preserve the peace of Europe, and to secure the just claims of his crown in America. A. D. 1755.

In fact, as soon as the French had recovered a little from the late war, they began to erect forts on the back of the British settlements in North America, and in 1754, they made an attempt to seize Nova Scotia. To protect that province, admiral Boscawen was sent next year with a squadron of ships; and the English perceiving that it was the intention of the enemy to surround the British colonies, by taking possession of the internal parts of the country, resolved to repel force by force.

Orders were accordingly sent to the governors of the American provinces, to unite in a confederacy for their mutual security, and to endeavour to engage the Indians on their side. Previous to this, major Washington, who afterwards made himself so famous in the cause of American independence, had been deputed by the government of Virginia to the French commandant in the Ohio, to demand by what authority he had erected forts, and made settlements within the limits of the British transatlantic dominions. Before an answer could be returned, general Braddock arrived in Virginia, took upon him the command of the forces destined to act against the French on the Ohio; and on the ninth of July, while marching through a pathless swamp, he was suddenly alarmed by a general fire, both in front A. D. 1755.

front and flank, from an invisible enemy, accompanied by the horrid sound of the Indian war-whoop. The van-guard fell back, and horror and confusion seized the ranks. The general himself, endeavouring to rally his troops, was killed by a musquet shot; the soldiers instantly fled, and left their baggage and ammunition in the hands of the enemy.

Soon after this unfortunate defeat, however, sir William Johnson gained a considerable advantage over the French and Indians, near Oswego, on the lake Ontario; but the British general was too much weakened even by this successful action, to proceed against Crown Point, the ulterior object of his expedition.

On the whole, the advantage in this campaign was uniformly in favour of the French, except on the side of Nova Scotia, which had been saved by the exertions of colonel Monckton.

In Europe, the English were not more successful. Saxony and Bavaria, notwithstanding the subsidies they received during the peace, entered into opposite connexions. The different courts of Europe were now sedulously employed in strengthening their interests by alliances. For the security of Hanover, a treaty was signed between his Britannic majesty and the empress of Russia, by which the latter stipulated to have a considerable force in readiness, in case the electoral dominions were invaded, for an annual subsidy of half a million.

A. D. 1756. In the beginning of the next year, a treaty was signed at London, between the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, by which they engaged mutually to oppose the introduction

introduction of any foreign troops into the empire. This, though in reality formed against France, amounted to a virtual renunciation of the alliance with Russia, which giving umbrage to the Czarina, induced her to listen to the overtures of France.

On the other hand, the queen of Hungary, though she owed every thing to Britain, signed a treaty of mutual guarantee and support with France, and thus the hereditary animosity of two rival powers, who had caused oceans of blood to be shed, seemed at last to be terminated. Austria was as jealous of Prussia, as France was of England, and hence this apparently unnatural association.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, the most popular members of administration, opposed this scheme of politics, as ruinous and absurd, and accordingly received their dismission. The seals were soon after transferred from sir Thomas Robinson to Mr. Fox, to whom alone Mr. Pitt could be opposed for political ability.

While these contentions were going on, a terrible catastrophe happened, which united all parties in one common sentiment of humanity. On the first of November, 1755, the city of Lisbon was almost wholly destroyed by an earthquake, with an immense number of its inhabitants, while the survivors were exposed to misery and famine. On this occasion the parliament of Great Britain voted one hundred thousand pounds for their relief, which does them more honour than all the millions which have been wasted for the purposes of war and devastation.

Next spring intelligence having been received that

that the French projected an invasion of Great Britain, every nerve was strained to meet the blow, and some thousands of foreign mercenaries were called upon to assist this country, on the presumption that the menaces of France would be carried into effect. Whether the French were really in earnest is doubtful: but the expectation of a descent drew off the attention of ministry from a quarter more vulnerable. A formidable fleet sailed from Toulon with forces to invade Minorca; and when admiral Byng, who had been sent out too late, arrived at Gibraltar, he found that the enemy had landed, and were besieging Fort St. Philip, with fifteen thousand men.

Dispatching news of this circumstance to England, and complaining of the bad condition of his ships, which extremely irritated ministry against him, he proceeded to Minorca, and saw the English colours still flying at the castle of St. Philip.

The French fleet, under La Galissoniere, now appearing, Byng, whose force consisted of thirteen ships of the line and five frigates, while the French had only twelve, and the same number of frigates, formed the line of battle, and threw out signals to bear away two points from the wind, and engage: admiral West, who commanded the van, perceiving the inconsistency of the two orders, chose to comply with the last, and steered that course which was absolutely necessary to bring the enemy to a general action. As Byng, however, did not support him, he was obliged to relinquish the advantages he had gained, lest his communication should be cut off with the remainder of the fleet.

The

The commander in chief, fearing to be censured for the error of which admiral Matthews had been accused, in an action with the combined fleets of France and Spain, of breaking his line, determined to keep his own entire, though the consequence was, that it prevented him from fighting at all, as he was too distant to do any thing effectual. As the French did not wish to continue the fight, though superior in weight of metal and number of men, after an irregular action of four hours, they bore away under an easy sail. Admiral Byng now made the signal for chasing, but the French were not overtaken, and next morning they had disappeared.

In a council of war which was held after this indecisive engagement, it was unanimously agreed that it was impracticable to relieve the castle of St. Philip, and that it would be adviseable to return to Gibraltar to refit, and to wait for farther orders from England.

Immediatedly on the arrival of Byng's dispatches, admirals Hawke and Saunders were sent out to supersede him, and he was ordered to be sent home under arrest. Meanwhile, general Blakeney, the governor of St. Philip, bravely defended the place, till he had lost all hopes of relief; and at last capitulated on honourable terms. A few days after he was reduced to this unpleasant necessity, admiral Hawke appeared with a fleet much superior to that of the French, which had retired.

The surrender of Minorca occasioned as much joy in France as it did depression in England. The ministry, irritated against admiral Byng, took no steps to lessen the odium which popular prejudice attached to him; on the contrary, they

were pleased to find that his imputed misconduct exonerated them from blame.

A. D. 1756. The unfortunate admiral was brought to trial, and it was determined by the court, that in the engagement off Minorca he did not use his utmost endeavours to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, nor exert his utmost power for the relief of the castle of St. Philip; the punishment attached to which charge was death; but as his misconduct, in the opinion of the court, arose neither from cowardice nor disaffection, they earnestly recommended him to mercy.

Great interest was made from various quarters to obtain a remission of this sentence, which popular clamour had alone extorted from his judges; but in spite of every application a warrant was signed for its execution. Byng, who had on many occasions shewn the most distinguished bravery, was not wanting to himself on this trying occasion. Conscious that an error of judgment was his only crime, and that he was the victim destined to appease an injured and deluded people, he advanced to the quarter-deck with a firm step and a serene aspect, and kneeling, without pause or delay gave the signal that he was prepared, when five balls passed through his body, and he fell dead without a struggle.

Notwithstanding this sacrifice, the tide of popularity set strongly against the ministry, and Mr. Fox and the duke of Newcastle, two of the principal members of administration, determined to escape the disgrace of dismission by a voluntary resignation.

Soon after, Mr. Pitt was appointed principal secretary of state, and Mr. Legge was reinstated

in the office of chancellor of the exchequer, which had been occupied by sir George Lyttelton; but these two patriot ministers opposing his majesty's favourite scheme of continental politics, were dismissed from their offices in less than six months. Mr. Fox was again placed at the head of affairs, who honestly counselling his majesty to yield to the wishes of his people, the two favourite ministers were re-admitted into administration, together with the duke of Newcastle. A. D. 1757.

Public affairs were adverse at the commencement of this administration. An enterprise against Rochefort had failed; but what was infinitely more disastrous, the duke of Cumberland being hemmed in by the superior military talents of marshal d'Etrees, was obliged to capitulate at Closter Seven, by which Hanover was left in the hands of the French, and the whole confederate army, amounting to forty thousand men, were disarmed and disbanded. This inglorious convention appears to have been the crisis of the war; other ministers directed, and other officers fought, and produced the most splendid events. A. D. 1757.

In America, major-general Amherst had succeeded lord Loudon in the principal command, and his army was increased to fifty thousand men. On the 27th of July, Louisbourg and Cape Breton surrendered to the British arms; and fort Duquesne, which had been evacuated by the French, was garrisoned under the name of Pittsburgh, in complement to the minister. A. D. 1758.

A few months after, peace was concluded between the British and the Indian nations inhabiting

biting the plains between the lakes and the Ohio. The savages were probably induced to change sides by the favourable turn of the war; and such was the spirit of enterprise which now animated the cabinet, that the conquest of Quebec was projected as the business of a single campaign.

To accomplish this, major-general Wolfe, who had been selected solely on account of his talents, was directed to undertake the siege of Quebec, while general Amherst, after reducing Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was to cross Lake Champlain and join Wolfe, under the walls of the capital of Canada.

The gallant Wolfe having arrived with his forces in the river of St. Laurence, near Quebec, found M. de Montcalm encamped with ten thousand men on the left bank of that river. On the last day of July, the British general made dispositions for an assault, under cover of the cannon from the men of war; but the English grenadiers, from too much impetuosity, being thrown into confusion, no exertions of Wolfe could recover the fortune of the day, and he was obliged to retreat with loss.

This repulse, however, only roused the energies of his mind to a higher pitch; he declared that he would rather die than fail of ultimate success; and a new plan of operation was concerted, for landing the troops on the northern bank of the river, and by scaling the heights of Abram, hitherto deemed inaccessible, to gain possession of the grounds at the back of the town, where it was but slightly fortified.

Admiral Saunders approving of this daring scheme, the debarkation was accomplished during

during the night, with secrecy and silence; but the precipice still remained to be ascended. With infinite labour and difficulty, in which the gallant 42d regiment acted a distinguished part, the troops gained the summit of the heights of Abram, and immediately formed in order of battle. M. de Montcalm now found himself under the necessity of risquing an engagement, in order to save the city, and accordingly advanced his men with great intrepidity. A furious contest ensued, and Wolfe, who stood in the front of the line, early received a shot in the wrist, to which he paid no regard; but advancing at the head of the grenadiers, another ball pierced his breast, and compelled him to quit the scene of action. The wound was mortal, but before he closed his eyes for ever, he had the satisfaction to hear that the French were flying. "Then," said he, "I die contented;" and almost immediately expired in the arms of victory.

This battle was fatal to the commanders in chief of both nations; but the advantage remained wholly on the side of the English. Quebec was obliged to surrender, and at length the conquest of Canada was completed, by the capture of Montreal, under general Amherst.

Success indeed attended the arms of Great Britain in every quarter of the globe. Fort Louis and the island of Goree, in Africa, yielded to the British arms, as did Guadaloupe, in the West Indies, after an obstinate resistance.

The British troops under the duke of Marlborough landed at Concale, on the coast of France and burnt about one hundred sail of shipping. Commodore Howe took possession of Cherbourg

bourg without opposition, and after destroying the harbour and bason returned. Soon after he proceeded again, with some land forces under general Bligh, who landed to the westward of St. Maloes, and penetrated into the open country; but the governor of Bretagne coming up with a superior army before they could reimbark, about fifteen hundred men were either killed or taken prisoners. This disaster put an end to those predatory expeditions.

But it was not only by land that the British met with general distinguished success: on their native element, the sea, they were equally fortunate. Admiral Boscawen defeated M. de la Clue, off Cape Lagos, and took four of his ships. This victory was soon followed by another still more important. Sir Edward Hawke, who had long been blockading the French fleet in the harbour of Brest, being driven from his station by a storm, furnished M. de Conflans, the French admiral, with an opportunity of slipping out of port with twenty-one ships of the line. Boscawen, pursuing him, came up with him off Quiberon bay, on the 20th of November, when a furious battle ensued, and night alone saved the French from total destruction. Two of their best ships were sunk during the action, one struck her colours, and two more were stranded and destroyed. The Soleil Royal, the flag-ship of the French commander, was burnt by her own crew, to prevent her from falling into the hands of the English. The French marine never recovered this fatal blow during the war.

A. D. 1759.

In Germany the war was carried on with great vigour, and the glory of the British arms raised

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to the highest pitch. The empress of Russia acceded to the alliance concluded between the courts of Versailles and Vienna; and the king of Prussia was put under the ban of the empire, and deprived of all his privileges and prerogatives as a member of the Germanic body.

Not daunted, however, by this denunciation, Frederic, entering Bohemia, defeated the Austrians, and invested Prague; but being repulsed by count Daun, was obliged to retreat. Meanwhile, one hundred thousand Russians entering Ducal, Prussia committed the most horrible excesses, but owing to some private management, were speedily withdrawn. The Austrians, however, having penetrated Silesia, got possession of Breslaw; but Frederic coming up with them at Lissa, gave them a signal defeat, and almost the whole province once more fell into the hands of the Prussians.

The king of Prussia was now the theme of unbounded applause, while the ingratitude of the queen of Hungary excited the indignant declamation of the good people of England, who had little interest in the success or the miscarriage of either. In consequence of this disposition, however, it was an easier matter for ministry to obtain a subsidy for Frederic to the amount of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds a year; and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick being placed at the head of the allied army, obliged the French to evacuate Hanover.

In the meanwhile, the Russians had again invaded the Prussian dominions; but the king coming up with them at Zerndorf, a terrible battle commenced, which lasted from noon till night, when the Russian barbarians gave way in

in great confusion, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. Soon after this, Frederic having formed a junction with his brother, prince Henry was surprised in his camp by marshal Daun, and amidst all the horrors of darkness and confusion, was obliged to quit the field.

Thus fortune alternately favoured the Austrians and Prussians for a time; but Frederic soon finding an opportunity of invading Saxony, without difficulty made himself master of Dresden, plundered the treasury, violated the palace of the elector himself, and, with a refinement of cruelty, compelled the Saxons to enlist in his army and fight against their country, relations, and friends.

A. D. 1758. In the ensuing year, the French army, under the command of marshal Contades, advancing northwards, took possession of Cassel, Munster, Minden, and other places, which alarmed the regency of Hanover to such a degree, that they sent off the archives of the electorate to Stadt, in order to be shipped for England.

Prince Ferdinand having encamped near Minden, was attacked by the French on the first of August, and after a conflict, which lasted from dawn of day till noon, the allies beat the enemy off the field. At this critical moment, Ferdinand sent orders to lord George Sackville, who commanded the British cavalry of the right wing, to advance with all possible expedition to the attack; and had this order been complied with in its full extent, the disorderly retreat of the enemy, would have been converted to a precipitate flight. The French, however, lost ten thousand men as it was, and immediately after evacuated Westphalia. A court martial being

being afterwards held on lord Sackville, he was declared incapable of serving his majesty in any military capacity whatsoever.

In the next campaign, his Prussian majesty experienced the usual versatility of fortune. The Russians, having made themselves masters of Frankfort on the Oder, entrenched themselves at Cunasdorf, with eighty thousand men. Frederic's army did not amount to more than fifty thousand, yet with these he ventured to attack the enemy, and, after a furious conflict of six hours, he forced the intrenchments with great slaughter, and took seventy pieces of cannon. The Russian general, however, having rallied his disordered troops on an eminence, repelled the Prussians in their advance, and finally put them to the route. In this dreadful engagement, the king had two horses shot under him, and his clothes were pierced with musquet balls.

A. D. 1759.

In the early part of the engagement, after forcing the intrenchments, he had dispatched a billet to the queen at Berlin, to inform her, that in two hours more she might expect to hear of a glorious victory: but he now found it expedient to send her a second billet, ordering her to remove with the royal family, and carry the archives to Potsdam.

In this bloody battle, thirty thousand men were left dead on the field, of whom two thirds were Prussians; twelve generals were either killed or wounded; and all Frederic's artillery fell into the hands of the enemy. The Prussian monarch, however, gradually reeovered his importance, and winter coming on, the Russians retired into Poland, their old quarters.

 Next

Next spring, the French army under marshal Broglio, amounted to one hundred thousand men. Prince Ferdinand gained an advantage over the enemy at Exdorf, and soon after, assisted by the British cavalry, under the marquis of Granby, he defeated the reserve of the French army near the village of Warbourg. Marshal Broglio, however, found means to make himself master of several places in the electorate of Hanover; and the Russians and Austrians, in conjunction, took Berlin itself, and laid it under contribution.

A. D. 1760.

In this expedition, the Cossacks and Croats were guilty of the most horrible excesses; but learning that the king of Prussia was in full march against them, they abandoned Berlin, and desolated the country in their retreat with the wanton malice of savages.

Marshal Daun followed Frederic at the head of one hundred thousand men, and taking post at Torgau, on the banks of the Elbe, fortified their front with two hundred pieces of cannon. The Prussian army, amounting to no more than eighty thousand men, here came up with them, and as they had no alternative but to conquer or to die, charged the enemy with desperate impetuosity. Victory remained suspended, till general Zeitken circuitously falling on the rear of the Austrians, and marshal Daun being wounded and obliged to retire, his army was thrown into confusion. The darkness of the night favoured the retreat of the Austrians across the Elbe, leaving a dearly purchased field to the Prussians, who, at the end of the campaign, were nearly in the same situation as at its commencement.

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In the session of parliament which opened in the month of November, 1759, lord keeper Henley declared by his majesty's command, "that as he entered into this war with no views of ambition, he did not wish to continue it from motives of resentment; and that the desire of his majesty's heart was to put a stop to the effusion of christian blood, whenever just and honourable terms of peace could be obtained." This declaration was received with joy by the sensible part of the nation; but the successes which had lately attended the British arms intoxicated the majority, and rendered them indifferent about the sacrifices which had obtained so much glory.

Such was the general posture of affairs, when George the second departed this life, in the 77th year of his age, and the 33d of his reign. Being at the palace of Kensington, his usual residence, on Saturday, the 25th of October, his majesty had risen at an early hour, as was customary, and observed to his attendants, that as the weather was fine he would walk out. In a few minutes after, being left alone, he was heard to fall down upon the floor, in an apoplectic fit. After a short interval, recovering his senses, he desired in a faint voice that the princess Amelia might be sent for, but before she could arrive he expired.

A. D. 1760.

George II. was distinguished rather for solid than brilliant qualities. His judgment and good sense displayed themselves in the general tenor of his government. Though his foreign politics cannot be commended, his internal administration deserves to be the subject of unqualified praise. His civil and religious principles were equally liberal

liberal and just; and the superior mildness of the executive power meliorated those penal statutes which form the disgrace of our judicial code.

It was a memorable declaration of this beneficent monarch, "that during his reign there should be no persecution for conscience sake." Though subject to occasional sallies of passion, his disposition was naturally generous and placable. He was faithful to his word, and steady in his attachments. On various occasions he had exhibited unquestionable proofs of his personal bravery, and his whole life gave evidence to the rectitude and integrity of his conduct. At some periods of his reign the political horizon had been lowering, but his sun set at last in unclouded splendour, and he never more entirely possessed the love of his loyal people than at the time when he was suddenly snatched from them for ever.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Reign of George III.

A. D. 1760. GEORGE III. eldest son of Frederic prince of Wales, succeeded his grandfather, with the unanimous congratulation of the people, who were happy to find that a prince, born and educated among them, and who, of course, could have no foreign predilections, had at last ascended the throne. This partiality was increased by the youth, character, and personal appearance of the sovereign, and by his declaring, in his first speech, "that

"that he gloried in the name of Briton." Meanwhile parliament, with the general approbation, voted the clear income of 800,000l. for the maintenance of the household and the support of the royal dignity, in lieu of the civil list revenues, which had been formerly appropriated for the sovereigns of this country.

This liberality was speedily repaid by rendering the judges independent of the crown, which was justly considered as a great accession to civil liberty, and by other grants and favours, which originating in royal beneficence, were appreciated as they deserved by a grateful nation.

The first acts of the new king's reign were calculated to convince the world that the prosecution of the war would suffer no relaxation, till an honourable peace could be obtained. Next year Belleisle was taken, and the important fortress of Pondicherry submitted to the arms of England. In 1762, Martinico, hitherto deemed impregnable, and some other West India islands, were added to the brilliant list of British conquests.

During these transactions, Mr. Pitt, with intuitive foresight, anticipating the hostile designs of Spain, proposed, in council, an immediate declaration of war against that kingdom; but finding himself in a minority, and that the earl of Bute, who had been governor to his majesty, had acquired an ascendant in the royal favour, this great statesman, disdaining to act a subordinate part, immediately resigned the seals, and retired with a pension and a peerage for his lady.

Lord Bute, who had been previously appointed one of the principal secretaries of state, was

now

now supposed to influence the decisions of government; but it was not long before the wisdom of the measures recommended by Mr. Pitt became apparent. It was found necessary to engage in a war with Spain, and the fall of the Havannah, of Trinidad, and Manilla, with some rich captures, soon rewarded the exertions of this country. To counterbalance these losses, the enemy, united by the family compact, projected an invasion of Portugal, which had long been peculiarly under the protection of Britain, and, in order to defend it, considerable armaments were sent thither, which tended to embarrass the operations of England.

The general ill success, however, of France and Spain, sincerely inclined them to peace, to which the British were not averse; and after some time had been spent in negotiation, a definitive treaty was signed at Paris, on the 10th of February, 1763, and peace solemnly proclaimed in London, on the 22d of next month. By this pacification, Great Britain obtained the extensive province of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, the Grenadas in the West Indies, and some inferior acquisitions. By the terms of this treaty, the other conquests we had made were restored; and thus a war, which had been brilliantly conducted at an enormous expence, and with the loss of many lives, terminated with less injury to the enemy, and less advantage to Britain, than circumstances seemed so justify and require. Warm debates took place in parliament, and animated discussions arose between political writers on this subject; but the articles of peace at length obtained the sanction of both houses, and the petty warfare of pamphleteers was soon composed,

composed, though a considerable degree of dissatisfaction still prevailed among the people, which received fresh fuel from various events.

The earl of Bute, under whose auspices the late peace had been made, had never been popular; and the sacrifices which he consented to, however politic they might have been, tended to justify the clamour against his administration.

About this time, too, the daring spirit of John Wilkes, esq. who sat in parliament for Aylesbury, assisted to hasten the downfall of the premier. This man, disgusted at the ministry, published a weekly paper against them, entitled, "The North Briton," which, while it was aimed chiefly against lord Bute, revived those national distinctions between the inhabitants of the same island, which ought to have slept for ever, from the time that they became united under one sovereign. Churchill, the poet, employed his satirical powers to the same purpose; and the ferment excited by those two able, but profligate characters, was so great, that the earl of Bute thought proper to resign his office of first lord of the treasury, and was succeeded by Mr. G. Grenville. A. D. 1763.

The administration of this distinguished commoner commenced with the prosecution of Mr. Wilkes, for asserting in the North Briton, No. 45, that his majesty's speech, which he affected to consider as the minister's, contained a falsehood. In consequence of this violation of all decorum, he was taken up by virtue of a general warrant, his papers seized and sealed up, and his person committed to the tower. The business being tried in the court of common pleas, lord chief justice Pratt acquitted Mr.

Wilkes

Wilkes of the charge exhibited against him, and restored him to liberty, by declaring general warrants illegal.

The squabbles in which this demagogue was afterwards engaged, and which he conducted with infinite spirit; his popularity, his duel with Mr. Martin, his prosecution for the "Essay on Woman," his retreat into France, his expulsion from the house of commons, and the various events connected with his election for the county of Middlesex, in opposition to the ministerial candidate, colonel Luttrel, though they kept the public in continual agitation for some years, are now unworthy of being recorded. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Wilkes, after serving the office of lord mayor of London, was elected to the lucrative office of chamberlain of that city, and that during the riots of 1780, his fortitude and presence of mind were of most essential service. In 1783, all the declarations, orders, and resolutions of the house of commons respecting him, were ordered to be expunged from the journals of that house; and though he soon after lost his seat for Middlesex, he lived to an advanced age, and died in peaceful repose, more the object of respect than during the height of his popularity.

The new minister, Mr. Grenville, possessed integrity and abilities, but he wanted a sound discriminating judgment. In order to raise a revenue from the American colonies, he projected a stamp act, which, throwing the colonists into a flame, was afterwards repealed; but the attempt and its failure laid the foundation for that fatal contest, which at length terminated in the independence of the Americans.

His

His majesty being seized with an alarming illness, it was judged necessary to appoint a regency, in order to prevent the inconveniences of a long minority. In the bill which was brought in for this purpose, the princess of Wales was entirely excluded from the regency by the lords; but the commons resenting this marked disrespect to the king's mother, caused her royal highness's name to be inserted next after the queen's, but still denying her a seat in the council. This conduct giving great umbrage at St. James's, the ministry found it necessary to retire from office, when the Rockingham party, as it was called, supplied their places. A. D. 1765.

At the head of this administration was that truly respectable character, the late marquis of Rockingham. Though not very popular at first, and unfortunate in not being joined by that favourite minister, Mr. Pitt, they exerted themselves with considerable effect to conciliate the good will of the people, and to forward the interests of the nation.

All their services and good intentions, however, could not secure their continuance in office. Possessing a great share of moderation in principles, their opponents effectually made head against them, and the duke of Grafton supplanted the marquis of Rockingham, while Mr. Pitt, now raised to the dignity of earl of Chatham, strengthened the phalanx, by accepting the post of privy seal.

Mr. Charles Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer, who possessed eminent talents for business, but too much versatility of temper, unhappily reviving the design A. D. 1766.

of

of taxing the Americans, though taxation and representation cannot constitutionally be separated, brought in a bill for imposing a duty on tea, and some other articles imported into the colonies.

Against this design, a general combination being formed of not receiving any of the commodities thus taxed, from the mother country, the acts were again repealed, except as far as related to the duties on tea. This concession, however, appearing to arise from fear rather than principle, effected nothing conciliatory; the suspicions of the Americans were roused, and could not be allayed.

Meanwhile Mr. Townshend, being cut off in the flower of his age, his place of chancellor of the exchequer was supplied by lord North, and some other changes took place in the administration. The earl of Chatham, perceiving his influence lost, resigned his office of privy seal, and from this time lived unconnected with the affairs of government, though he frequently took an active part in the interesting debates which agitated this period.

The flame which the insidious, not to say unjust designs of the ministry against America had alternately smothered and revived, was now about to break forth in all its violence. Laws having been passed for quartering troops in the colonies, and for rendering the governors solely dependent on the crown, the Americans, in order to shew their aversion to the measures of the British government, and their determination to resist, destroyed a large quantity of tea at Boston, and obliged ships laden with the same commodity to return from other places with their cargoes untouched.

In

In consequence of this opposition, an act was passed for shutting up the port of Boston, and for altering the constitution of Massachusett's Bay and Quebec.

In return for this violent stretch of power, the Americans entered into an agreement to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, till the obnoxious acts were repealed; at the same time sending deputies to avow their loyalty, and to supplicate a change of measures in regard to them.

Their remonstrances and petitions being equally disregarded, and the application of their agents to be heard at the bar of the house of commons being refused by a great majority, and every avenue to accommodation, except by implicit submission, shut up, the Americans determined to have recourse to arms, in defence of what they considered as their unalienable rights. They began to train their militia, to erect powder mills, and to procure arms, and instead of being supplicants, assumed a tone of authority and a threatening attitude. Indeed, it is probable that no concessions on the part of Britain would have been able long to keep them submissive and dependent; but certainly it would have been politic, to have avoided a conflict with them by entering into treaties, which would have exonerated the mother country from the expence of defending the colonists, and, at the same time, have secured all the advantages which could arise from a close and intimate correspondence with them, by political and commercial relations.

The ministry of that period, however, judged otherwise, and posterity has to lament their obstinacy

stinacy or infatuation. On the nineteenth of April 1775, general Gage, commander in chief, having obtained a party to seize some military stores at Lexington and Concord in New England, several skirmishes ensued, in which many were killed on both sides, and the royal troops would probably have been all cut off, had not a reinforcement arrived to their relief.

The torch of civil war being thus lighted up, the colonists flew to arms, as if by concert, and assumed the title of "the United States of America," whose affairs a congress were appointed to manage. This body of representatives instantly passed resolutions for raising an army, for establishing an extensive paper currency, to supply the want of specie, and for stopping all importations to those places which still remained faithful in their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain.

To particularize the multifarious events of this extensive and sanguinary war, would far exceed the limits proposed. Separate histories have been published of it, and it shall be our business to notice the most prominent circumstances, and to mark the hinges on which its fortune turned.

A small party of provincials, having taken possession of Ticonderago and Crown-point, without any loss, found here a variety of military stores, which facilitated their future operations. The arrival, however, of generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, with considerable reinforcements, tended to keep up the spirits of the loyalists, but by no means damped the resolution of the congress, who voting that the compact between the crown and the inhabitants of Massachusett's

chusett's-bay was dissolved, recommended that province to resume their chartered rights; and that they might secure Charlestown, ordered some considerable works to be hastily raised in the night, on Bunker's-hill. Their intention being discovered in the morning, a heavy fire from the ships, the floating batteries, and from Cop's-hill, in Boston, immediately took place. The Americans sustained this with great firmness, and were with difficulty driven from their entrenchments, by generals Howe and Pigot. The action was extremely severe, and though the king's troops had the advantage, they lost two hundred and twenty-six men, besides eight hundred wounded, including many officers. After this affair, the colonists threw up works on another hill opposite, so that the royal army was as closely invested as it had been at Boston.

A. D. 1775.

About this time, congress appointed George Washington general and commander in chief of all the American forces. This gentleman had acquired some experience in the last war, when he commanded different bodies of provincials, and his conduct and military skill fully justified the partiality of his countrymen. They also published a very animated declaration, in which the reasons of their taking up arms were assigned, and the objects for which they contended, distinctly pointed out. A second petition to the king was likewise voted by congress, in which they earnestly beseeched his majesty to adopt some method of putting a stop to the unhappy contest between Great Britain and the colonies. This petition, which was presented by Mr. Penn, late governor and one of the pro-

prietors of Pennsylvania, did not even obtain an answer; and the address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, though it made many proselytes, of course could produce no effectual impression, when both ministry and parliament were so bent on coercion.

Whether these conciliatory proposals were sincere or not, may admit of a doubt; but the American cause was certainly strengthened by them, because it was now found no alternative remained, but humiliating submission or determined resistance, and therefore a considerable share of unanimity prevailed for the latter.

Extraordinary powers having been given to general Carleton, governor of Canada, in order to annoy the revolted colonists, an expedition was undertaken against that province, under general Montgomery and colonel Arnold. With more courage than prudence, these officers attempted to take Quebec by storm, but being overpowered, Montgomery fell, and Arnold, after being dangerously wounded, was compelled to make a precipitate retreat.

A. D. 1776. Next year, Boston was bombarded and evacuated, when general Washington took possession of it, and the British general Howe, whose troops were now reduced to seven thousand men, embarked for Halifax, leaving a considerable quantity of artillery and stores behind.

Soon after, congress, in a solemn declaration, withdrew all allegiance from the king of Great Britain, and assumed the stile and character of "Free and independent States." They likewise published articles of confederation and perpetual union between the provinces; while in proportion

tion as the prospect of bringing them to submission was lessened, the arrogance and infatuation of the British ministry, at the head of whom was lord North, seemed to encrease.

An unsuccessful attempt was made upon Charlestown, in which the English suffered considerably; but about the same time, general Howe got possession of New-York, while sir Peter Parker and general Clinton took Rhode island. Some overtures of reconciliation having at this time been made by general, and his brother, admiral lord Howe, the Americans, in their turn, treated them with contempt. Indeed they were not likely to be accepted, as they amounted only to pardon for such as would lay down their arms.

At this conjuncture, however, the affairs of the Americans were at a very low ebb, and a more active general might, by pushing the advantages previously gained, have brought them to submit to reasonable terms; but Howe slumbered amidst his temporary successes, while the ardour and military talents of Washington, soon enabled him to repair what had been lost, and even to obtain partial victories. At Trenton, he surprised and took nearly one thousand Hessian troops with their arms, who were in the British pay; and by a dexterous manœuvre, eluded every attempt to surprise him.

In September, 1777, two actions of some importance happened between the armies of generals Howe and Washington, in both of which the former had the advantage; and soon after Philadelphia surrendered to the king's troops. On the other hand, general Burgoyne, who had set out from Quebec with a well appointed army of ten

ten thousand men, in order to invade the northern counties, after driving the Americans before him for some time, was at last surrounded at Saratoga, and obliged to lay down his arms.

An expedition up the north river turned out more successful, under Clinton and Vaughan; but the devastations they committed only rendered the Americans more inveterate against the British name. Not long after, general Clinton succeeded to the principal command, but instead of maintaining his position at Philadelphia, he was glad to retire to New-York.

A. D. 1778.

The French, who from national jealousy had long viewed the success of the revolted colonists with a favourable eye, now entered into an alliance with them; and so gloomy was the aspect of affairs, that the earl of Carlisle, William Eden and George Johnston, esquires, were sent to America as commissioners to treat of peace; but the terms they offered were rejected with disdain.

Hostilities commenced with France, by a naval engagement between admiral Keppel and count d'Orvilliers, in which no advantage was gained on either side. Some reflections having been cast on sir Hugh Palliser, for his conduct in this action, he recriminated by exhibiting articles of accusation against Keppel, who was tried and honourably acquitted. Palliser, in his turn, was also brought to a court martial, and acquitted.

Meanwhile, Pondicherry in the East, and St. Lucia in the West Indies, surrendered to the arms of England. Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada,

Grenada, however, fell into the hands of the French, who assisted the Americans with a fleet, commanded by count d'Estaing; but their united attempt on Savannah, was frustrated by general Prevost. A. D. 1779.

Spain now joining France and America, took New Orleans on the Mississippi, and closely invested Gibraltar; while the combined fleets of those two neighbouring powers for some time rode triumphant in the British channel, but were afraid to strike a blow.

Admiral sir George Rodney, being appointed to a principal command in the beginning of 1780, took seven Spanish ships of the line, besides doing other damage; and after throwing supplies into Gibraltar, which was closely invested, had three indecisive engagements with the French fleet in the West Indies. Success, however, in general attended our exertions by sea; but even on this element, the enemy made some considerable captures, chiefly of merchantmen.

Meanwhile, general Clinton took possession of Charles-town in America, and earl Cornwallis and colonel Tarleton, signalized themselves in several actions with the army of the colonists, as did the gallant lord Rawdon, who made his first essay in arms on the American continent.

In June the same year, happened one of the most dreadful riots in London which history records. It arose from the fanaticism of an association of protestant sectaries, who fancied that religion was in danger, for some just and equitable indulgences that had recently been granted to the roman catholics by the legislature. Several chapels belonging to persons of that persuasion,

persuasion, were pulled down or burnt, and on some of the rioters being committed to Newgate, the mob rose in a mass, and pulled down and set fire to that prison, liberating the prisoners, who readily joined them in the work of mischief. In short, the King's Bench, the Fleet, the houses of catholics, and of those who were suspected of favouring them, were all seen at once in a conflagration; and among others, sir George Savile, and the venerable earl of Mansfield, whose liberality of sentiment had marked him out to the vengeance of the fanatics, were very great sufferers.

During these disgraceful scenes, the ministry seemed appalled, and the magistrates of London in general, except Mr Wilkes, seemed to shrink from the exercise of their duty. At length, troops poured into London, and order was restored by military force. Many of the rioters lost their lives by the fire of the soldiers, or by the sentence of the law; and it was with extreme difficulty, that lord George Gordon escaped, for the weak, rather than wicked part he had taken in this affair.

The Dutch had long been suspected of assisting the Americans, and as the States General declined giving any satisfactory answer to the reclamations which passed on this subject, hostilities commenced against them, towards the close of the year.

A. D. 1780.

In September, the Resolution and Discovery returned from a voyage round the world; but to the grief of every person, who respected worth and talents, without their captains Cook and Clarke. The former, whose whole life had been devoted to the most important pursuits, was unfortu-

unfortunately killed by the natives of Owhyhee, an island he had discovered, and the latter died soon after of a decline. For the honour of the belligerent powers, it should be mentioned, that orders had been issued to protect those vessels, as being engaged in a voyage of universal utility.

The war with Holland was carried on with vigour, and St. Eustatius, St. Martin, Seba, and St. Bartholomew, the colonies of Demerara and Issequibo, with a great number of trading and some armed vessels, fell into the hands of the English. Commodore Johnstone took several Dutch East Indiamen, in the bay of Saldannah, and admiral H. Parker had a severe engagement with the fleet of that nation off the Dogger Bank, but without any decisive issue on either side.

In America, alternate successes and reverses attended the arms of Britain; but even victory was fatal to the mother country, while defeats only served to teach the colonists the art of prevailing in their turn. On the whole, however, the cause of Britain every day became more desperate. Earl Cornwallis, after distinguishing himself on various occasions, was at length surrounded by general Washington, assisted by the marquis de la Fayette, and obliged to surrender with all his forces, amounting to seven thousand men. A. D. 1781.

About the same time, the Spaniards made themselves masters of the whole of West Florida. They also pushed the siege of Gibraltar with great spirit; but the heroic governor, general Elliot, making a vigorous sally, destroyed in a few hours, the works which had been constructing for many months.

During

During these transactions, the French were extremely active in every quarter. They made an attack upon Jersey, and nearly succeeded, owing to the supine neglect of the lieutenant governor of the island. One of their squadrons attacked commodore Johnstone, off St. Jago, when the ships on both sides were much damaged, and they obliged Tobago to capitulate.

In the East Indies, Hyder Ally, the confederate of France, took Arcot by assault, and cut to pieces, or made prisoners of a detachment under colonel Bailley. Sir Eyre Coote soon retrieved the fortune of the war in this quarter, and the gallantry of admiral sir Edward Hughes was exerted with equal effect in the Indian ocean, though the force he had to contend with, rendered victory impossible.

At home, every action of the ministry was watched with the most jealous attention, and Fox and Burke manœuvred with as much address in parliament, as Washington did in the field. Indeed, after the surrender of earl Cornwallis, a change of measures became absolutely necessary, and as this could not be effected without a change of men also, a complete revolution in the cabinet, took place on the twenty-seventh of March, under the auspices of the marquis of Rockingham, who was appointed first lord of the treasury.

A. D. 1782.

This gave infinite joy to the nation, as being a prelude of peace, and addresses of congratulation poured in to his majesty on the occasion, as if the country had escaped from foreign enemies.

In order to confirm that favourable opinion, which had attended their coming into power, the

the new ministry consented that the independency of America should be allowed *, and entered into measures with ardour, for effectuating a general peace. For this purpose, Mr. Grenville was invested with full powers to treat at Paris, with all the belligerent nations, and orders were dispatched to the commanders in chief in America, to acquaint them with the pacific views of the British cabinet, and with the offer of independence to the United States.

In fact, peace was now most ardently desired by all ranks of people in this country. The minds of men were agitated with a variety of

* After this, however, some skirmishes took place; and an incident which excited much interest at the time, deserves to be recorded. Some troops in the pay of Britain having taken a fort in Tern's river, hanged its commander in return for some cruelties with which he was charged. The Americans being enraged at this unusual mode of warfare, demanded the officer who had sanctioned the punishment, to be delivered up to them. This being refused, they determined that some British officer in their custody should suffer in his stead, and the lot falling on captain Asgill of the guards, he was ordered into confinement, and doomed to capital punishment. No sooner, however, did news of this reach his family, than his mother lady Asgill applied to the French minister, count de Vergennes, whose intercession with Washington, being backed by the generous zeal of the queen of France, procured life and liberty to the unfortunate victim of chance, after a considerable period of the most painful suspence.

Another victim of this ill-judged and ill-conducted war, major André, will never be named without exciting the most poignant regret. His zeal and intrepidity led him to expose himself to a situation of extreme danger and difficulty. He was taken up; and though every effort was made to save his valuable life, he suffered as a spy, and had not even the consolation of dying like a soldier. The treatment of André, tarnishes the name of Washington.

losses,

A. D. 1782. losses. The French took Nevis and St. Christopher's; Minorca surrendered to the Spaniards; and the valuable island of Jamaica would probably have been wrested from us, had not admiral Rodney fallen in with the French fleet under count de Grasse, before it could form a junction with the Spanish, and given it a total defeat. The French admiral, in the Ville de Paris of 110 guns, was taken, with two seventy-four gun ships, and one of sixty-four guns. Two other ships of the line were lost in the action; and a few days after, two more French ships were captured. This signal victory, which was achieved on the twelfth of April, was of the most essential service to the interests of this country, and facilitated the pending negotiations.

Soon after, however, the Bahama islands were obliged to surrender to the arms of Spain; but to balance this loss, the British reaped immortal laurels at Gibraltar, under that brave veteran general Elliot, and converted one of the most formidable attacks which had ever been made in the history of sieges, to the destruction of the assailants, and the frustration of all the hopes of the enemy. Sept. 13, 1782.

The military operations after this were few and unimportant. The British forces took the Dutch settlements on the coast of Ceylon; but the French receiving considerable reinforcements from Europe, retook Trincomale, forced the British fleet in several warm but undecisive engagements, and enabled Hyder Ally to withstand the most vigorous efforts of the English forces, under sir Eyre Coote.

The marquis of Rockingham dying, after a very

very short illness, on the first of July, produced a violent commotion in the cabinet, and sensibly affected the nation, which had formed a very exalted opinion of the blessings to be derived from his administration. Lord Shelburne succeeded him, and the business of peace being hastened, in 1783, the provisional articles between England and America were made public. The United States gained all that they had contended for; and those who had been despised as rebels, were now raised to the rank of an independent nation. In short, so bountiful was ministry in concessions, that the American loyalists were thrown wholly on the generosity of the British, and though the restoration of confiscated property was recommended, no positive stipulations were entered into on this important head.

In our treaties with the French, the Dutch, and the Spaniards, there was the same improvident facility; and, though the critical situation in which we were placed, might sanction many sacrifices, they certainly were carried to an extent that wounded the pride of patriotism, and left the field open for future encroachment and aggression.

By the calamitous war which was now terminated, Great Britain lost the best part of her transatlantic colonies, and, besides many thousands of valuable lives, expended or squandered nearly 150 millions of money. The terms of the peace indeed were a subject of regret to many, but the prospect of continued war was the object of alarm to all. The address of thanks for the peace, was carried in the lords by a majority of 72 to 59, but lost in A.D. 1783.

in the house of commons by a majority of 224 to 208.

Under such circumstances, it was impossible any administration could long stand, and an unnatural coalition having been formed between Mr. Fox and lord North, a ministerial revolution was plainly indicated, which accordingly soon took place. The coalition leaders, Fox and North, were made secretaries of state, and the duke of Portland first lord of the treasury. All plans of reformation in public offices, and other national improvements which lord Shelburne had projected, seemed now to be dropt. Mr. Pitt, the son of the immortal earl of Chatham, and who has since rivalled his father's glory, made a motion for a parliamentary reform; but the event was no doubt what he himself expected, though it answered the purpose of attracting notice, and gaining popularity. Parliament passed a bill for the relief of the American loyalists; the establishment of the prince of Wales was formed; and pensions were granted to lord Rodney and general Elliot for their important services. Soon after, the parliament was prorogued, and on the sixth of October, peace was proclaimed in the usual form.

The coalition ministry conducted the machine of state with a strong arm, till soon after the meeting of parliament in November, Mr. Fox brought forward a bill for regulating the affairs of the East India Company, into which some unconstitutional provisions were introduced. It passed, however, through the lower house by a great majority, but was thrown out in the upper, after very animated debates, in which its principles and tendency were canvassed and exposed.

In consequence of this, the coalition ministry, which had been deservedly unpopular, were suddenly dismissed, and Mr. Pitt, then a very young man, was declared first lord of the treasury. His friends, of course, filled the other principal departments of state; and this constituted the tenth administration, since the accession of his present majesty.

Some of the principal adherents of the coalition party interposed to unite the discordant factions; but their endeavours to form what they termed a firm, efficient, and extended administration, proved wholly unsuccessful.

At last, after strong and repeated contests between the two factions, during which the new minister found himself frequently in a minority, and all public business was suspended, a proclamation was issued for dissolving the present parliament, and for calling a new one. Just at this crisis, the great seal was stolen from the house of the lord chancellor, and another was obliged to be made.

March 25, 1784.

The next parliament met on the eighteenth of May, when it was speedily discovered, that there was a considerable majority on the side of the minister; and accordingly business proceeded with its usual regularity. Mr. Pitt now brought forward his taxes and his India bill, which, with many other important legislative acts, passed into laws. His plan, however, for giving one hundred members to the popular interest, and for extending the elective franchise to more than one hundred thousand persons, after a debate of considerable length, was rejected by a majority of seventy-four, by which decision, his credit was saved, and the constitution

A. D. 1785. tution escaped violation. Mr. Pitt was equally unsuccessful, though perhaps more in earnest, in attempting to settle the commerce of England and Ireland, on a mutual and equitable footing. His propositions passed with difficulty in England, and in Ireland they were thrown out with marked disapprobation.

Among the various measures agitated by parliament during the next session, was the plan for the appropriation of a million annually for the reduction of the national debt. This measure, which ultimately promises the best consequences, has been strenuously pursued under every change of circumstances, and amidst unexampled difficulties.

A. D. 1786.

A. D. 1787. During the following year, the French party fomented great disturbances in Holland, under the pretext that the Stadtholder sacrificed the interests of the republic to his predilection for the English. The king of Prussia, however, by his active interference in defence of the prince of Orange, to whom he was nearly related by marriage, and united by policy, frustrated the designs of the French, and composed the jarring factions for a time.

This year is likewise remarkable for the impeachment of Warren Hastings, esq. late governor-general of Bengal. His trial was protracted to such an extraordinary length, and carried on with so much acrimony that it resembled a persecution; and though, after years of vexation, expence, and inquietude, he was at last acquitted, the ends of substantial justice might certainly have been effected with less delay,

delay, and with less cost to the nation as well as the individual, who, instead of censure, in general deserved, and will enjoy the applauses of his country, which was essentially benefited by his services.

The business of the slave-trade, which, however much it may be defended on political grounds, certainly militates against every principle of religion and morals, was likewise agitated about this time in parliament, and had numerous partisans for its abolition or restraint, among the people. Mr. Wilberforce, assisted by the eloquence of Mr. Pitt, the premier, brought it before the commons; but though, in subsequent sessions, various motions were made for wiping off this disgrace to the national character, and some beneficial regulations were adopted and carried into execution, relative to the conduct of this inhuman traffic, interest has always prevailed over feeling and argument, and subsequent events have shewn, that, though the importation of fresh slaves should be stopped, slavery itself cannot be abolished in the West Indies, without producing more evil than good. All reforms, indeed, should be slow and gradual to accomplish any beneficial purposes, and more particularly so, when they are directed to the ignorant and unenlightened.

About this period also, some adventurers having sent a vessel to Nootka or King's Sound,* on the north west coast of America, to trade with the natives for furs, the Spaniards, who pretended to the exclusive sovereignty of this coast,

* First discovered by captain Cook, in his last voyage round the world.

 seized

seized the ship, and treated the crew with great severity. This produced remonstrances to the court of Spain; but little attention having been paid to them, both nations prepared to have recourse to arms. The matter, however, was at last settled by a convention, the terms of which were generally considered as vague and indeterminate.

A. D. 1788. Scarcely was the naval armament which had been collected on this occasion dismissed, when ministry found occasion to reassemble it. The empress of Russia, whose distinguishing characteristic was ambition, anxious to obtain a port in the Black Sea, made exorbitant demands on the Turks, and prevailed on the emperor of Germany to favour her views. The Germans, however, were extremely unsuccessful in this unjust warfare; but the Russians defeated the Turks in every battle, and took from them several strong places, particularly Ockzacow and Ismael. The Turks made a most gallant resistance at the latter; but the savage Suwarroff, who commanded the Russians, instead of respecting the bravery of the inhabitants, put about thirty thousand of them to death, and thus fixed an indelible stain on his character.

These successes, and the cruelties which accompanied them, alarming the British court, a large fleet was fitted out in order to prevent Russia from obtaining the navigation of the Black Sea; but the empress, without being in the least intimidated at the preparations of England, to which indeed the nation in general was averse, insisted on maintaining the advantages she had acquired; and, as negotiations

were

were found of avail, the armament was laid aside, after an enormous expence had been incurred. In justice, however, to administration, it should be observed, that the measures they took seem to have been founded in wisdom and policy, and had not their designs been counteracted by the violence of some demagogues in parliament, whose sentiments were adopted by the great mass of the people, it is probable, the partition of Poland, and other encroachments and revolutions which followed, might have been stifled in their birth.

The same year being the centenary of the glorious revolution of 1688, the fifth of November, the day of king William's landing, was observed by many individuals and societies, not only with festivity but with devotion and thanksgiving.

But while the nation was enjoying unexampled prosperity, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt, and had, in a great measure, recovered from the humiliating state in which it was left by the American war, its prospects were once more suddenly clouded by a severe malady with which the king was seized. For some days, an universal alarm prevailed, on account of a sovereign, who was justly endeared to his people, the nature of his disorder not being precisely known; but at last, it was ascertained, that a fever on the spirits had produced a temporary privation of reason, which the best medical advice for many weeks was unable to remove.

Under these distressing circumstances, parliament was assembled, but, as a principal branch of the legislature was incapable of acting, the other two could not proceed to business.

It was therefore judged expedient by all parties to appoint a regent, and Mr. Fox claimed this high office in the name and on the behalf of the heir apparent, as appertaining to his royal highness of right. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt and his adherents, who formed by far the most numerous body, both in and out of parliament, contended, that parliament possessed the power of imposing limitations on the regent; and, though they admitted the preference which was due to the prince of Wales, they wished to subject the exercise of his authority to such restraints, as might appear just and proper, under existing circumstances.

In the discussions which the arrangement of this important affair occasioned, much time was consumed; and mutual asperity and reproach embittered every debate. The opposition, who expected to come immediately into power, scarcely observed decency in their reflections and observations; and Burke, in particular, who, with his usual inconsistency, afterwards stood forward as the champion of foreign royalty, seemed to forget what was due to his legitimate sovereign.

At last, no signs of convalescence appearing, the regency bill was about to pass,* and was just ready to be put in execution, when, to the unspeakable joy of the nation, as well as of every

* The parliament of Ireland invited the prince of Wales to accept the regency without any limitations. In the bill before the British legislature, many restrictions were imposed, which, of necessity, must have rendered the executive government too weak, had the experiment been tried.

member

member of his august family, his majesty, on the 10th of March, sent a message to parliament, to acquaint them with his recovery, and of his ability to attend to the public business of his kingdom. A. D. 1789.

This most agreeable intelligence flew like lightning from one corner of the kingdom to another, and never were the demonstrations of joy which it produced, more enthusiastic or more sincere. Every town, every village, exhibited its testimonies of loyalty and affection to the best of sovereigns at the instant; and these were renewed on the 23d of April, when his majesty, in solemn procession, went to St. Paul's, to return thanks to Heaven for his recovery.

In the month of July of the same year, one of the most unexpected and extraordinary revolutions took place in France which the annals of history records. The details of this memorable event properly fall under another division of our work; but, as the consequences have extended, not only to Britain, but to the whole civilized world, it will be necessary to state the general facts, as we proceed.

The deranged state of the finances of France, and the mild disposition and moderate principles of the reigning king, Louis XVI. inducing him to assemble the notables of his kingdom, an opportunity was taken to subvert the monarchy, and to reduce the sovereign to a state of degradation, which not only prevented him from doing wrong, but from doing any essential service to the state. The bastile, which had long been converted to the most despotic purposes, was suddenly levelled to the ground, and the prisoners liberated; while a national assembly,

chosen

chosen by the people, proceeded to wrest from their guiltless king the privilege of making war or peace, abolished all titles of peerage, and allowed no distinctions, but those of virtue, genius, and merit. When once established authority is rudely overthrown, and those prejudices which have been indulged for ages are ridiculed and exposed, it is difficult to know where to stop. The people, like an impetuous river bursting its banks, now carried all before them; and though, on the 14th of July, 1790, the French monarch made a formal surrender of the power which his ancestors had enjoyed or usurped, and was henceforth to be considered not as the tyrant but the father of his people, one concession only gave rise to the claims of another, and anarchy, which is even more fatal than despotism, began to prevail.

Louis, discovering the consequences of his mild submission to unreasonable demands, and spurred on by his friends, and perhaps by his enemies too, to violate the oath he had taken to be true to the new constitution, endeavoured to escape to the German dominions; but being stopped on the borders of Flanders, he was ignominiously brought back to Paris, and closely guarded in one of the royal palaces. In the meantime, another code of laws was drawn up by the national assembly, which the king was likewise induced to sign, and by these means allayed the popular ferment for a time.

Sep. 14, 1791.

During these transactions, the natural love of liberty, which will ever animate the hearts of Britons, excited a partiality in the bosoms of many, to the cause in which the French nation was

was engaged. Those who were carried away by a name and plausible professions, saw nothing but brother freemen in the French; while the discriminating and thinking apprehended equal danger from the giddy zeal of their countrymen, as from the intemperate and ungovernable licentiousness of their natural enemies.

Government, however, observed a dignified silence and forbearance; and in parliament, several matters of great importance were discussed and settled.

The penal statutes against popery, which had long continued to be the disgrace of our civil code, were softened down; and several pains, penalties, and disqualifications were done away, The house entered on the subject with a liberality that did them honour, and the bill passed through its various stages, almost without opposition.

The constitution of Canada was fixed, by dividing that province into two governments, and giving a council and house of assembly to each. This measure, in which the partialities and native customs of the inhabitants were consulted, has been attended with the best effects, and will probably secure the dependence of the province on Great Britain, by the strong tie of gratitude and interest.

The rights of juries in cases of libel, had long been suffered to remain in an indefinite and undetermined state. To obviate this inconvenience, so injurious to civil liberty, Mr. Fox brought a bill into parliament, by which, after much revision and long discussion, it was ultimately decided both by lords and commons, "that juries are judges both of the law and the fact."

The same year, his royal highness the duke of York was married to the princess Frederica Charlotta Ulrica Catherina, daughter of the late king of Prussia, whose exalted virtues have endeared her to all ranks of people.

Sep. 29, 1791.

The French revolution, as has been previously observed, having excited much interest in this country, and provoked much discussion between its supporters and opponents, the former began to be considered as inimical to the British constitution, and the latter, as its most faithful defenders. Wisdom, policy, every principle that actuates the prudent, would have taught the people of this country to observe the progress of such an event, in which they had no real concern, with a cautious silence; but the bold theories of the French revolutionists, striking the imagination of the unexperienced with irresistible force, and their decisive measures affording gratification to those who were supposed to be ill affected to our civil and religious establishment, it became necessary for the friends of the constitution to evince their disapprobation of principles, which they saw perverted, and applied to the most dangerous purposes.

On the anniversary of the 14th of July, the day on which the bastile was demolished, the partisans of liberty in this country agreed to celebrate the event by festive meetings in many of the principal cities and towns of the kingdom. In London, a large number assembled and spent the day in conviviality, without any disturbance of consequence being excited; but in Birmingham, where a violent animosity had subsisted for some years, between the high church party and

and the dissenters, at the head of whom was the justly celebrated philosopher, Priestley, political causes co-operating with religious, produced the most lamentable effects. The persons who assembled there to commemorate the French revolution, were represented as the enemies of the king and constitution; and no sooner were they met, to the number of eighty or ninety, than the mob testified their disapprobation. At a very early hour, the company dispersed, but the infuriate mob was not satisfied: they first demolished the windows of the hotel, then dispersing over the town and its vicinity, they set on fire the meeting houses, the houses of the most eminent dissenters, and giving a loose to every kind of intemperance, became equally formidable to both parties. The mansion of Dr. Priestley was consumed, with his valuable library and philosophical apparatus; and thus a man, whose talents would have been an honour to any country, was hunted as an enemy to the human race, and ultimately obliged to take shelter in America. At last, some troops of light dragoons were called in; and Birmingham, after exhibiting the most disgraceful scenes of riot and devastation for three days, was saved from farther ruin by their exertions. Several of the rioters lost their lives in the commission of their crimes, and a few suffered deserved punishment on the gallows.

With equal conduct and good fortune, earl Cornwallis, who had accepted the office of governor-general of Bengal, carried on the war with Tippoo Saib, in which we had been involved by the intrigues of France. Overcoming all impediments, he formed the siege of Seringa-patam

patam, the capital of Mysore, and reduced Tippoo to such straits, that he was glad to conclude a peace on the terms offered to him, and to give his two sons as hostages for the performance of its conditions.

A. D. 1792. When parliament met, the premier, to the agreeable surprise of the nation, proved that the finances were in such a flourishing state as would allow him to lighten the burdens of the people, by taking off taxes to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds a year, and, at the same time, to appropriate double that sum, for the reduction of the national debt. The British fleet and army too had been diminished; and thus a deceitful calm, which is generally the prelude of a storm, lulled the unsuspecting into the dream of lasting peace and growing prosperity.

It was not long, however, before the discerning saw through this disguise. The continental powers, jealous of the principles which had been developed in the French revolution, prepared themselves for war with that distracted country. Austria took the lead, and Prussia joining that power against France, it was evident that Great Britain could not long be kept out of the vortex, when a natural enemy was to be opposed or humbled. Yet, to the coalition of crowned heads against France, may, in a great measure, be ascribed, those gigantic exertions which that nation made, amidst anarchy and confusion at home, to repel invasion, and even to subjugate surrounding nations, in which it succeeded too well. As, in domestic life, the interference of strangers, unites the divided members of a family; so in intestine commotions, the hostility

tility of neighbours forms a bond of union to resist aggression, among those who can agree on nothing else.*

Waving, however, such speculations, we proceed to observe, that the spirit of discussion which the revolutionary proceedings in France excited, having produced various writings, a royal proclamation was issued to suppress them, and prosecutions were commenced against the authors and publishers of several books of this tendency. In return, his majesty received addresses of loyalty and of attachment to the constitution, not only from both houses of parliament, but from numerous public bodies throughout the kingdom.

In proportion as the friends of government shewed themselves determined to make one common cause, the disaffected and discontented, of whom some portion will be found in every country, being now pointed out as objects of fear or detestation, either felt or fancied that they were equally justified in resorting to the same means of union. Societies for reform were formed in many places; and those who could no longer preserve the credit of being good subjects, were resolved to deserve the imputations that had been thrown on them, and to seek security or countenance in numbers. Violence

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* For "the history of the wars arising out of the French revolution," we must refer our readers, for details, to an elegant and authentic work on that subject, in two volumes, quarto, by ALEXANDER STEPHENS, Esq. In that publication, every thing is related circumstantially, and at length, which our confined limits oblige us to present only in general views and ultimate results.

always defeats its own ends, however laudable its objects may be; while conciliation and apparent confidence might have retained many turbulent spirits in their duty, and made them ashamed of those very measures, for which false pride made them glory in having been persecuted.

A second proclamation, therefore, appeared, in which it was declared that evil disposed persons in this country, were acting in concert with others in foreign parts, in order to subvert the laws and constitution; and avowing his majesty's design of forthwith embodying a part of the militia. Considerable alarm was spread through the sound part of the nation, of which description the majority was immense, and both public bodies and individuals became animated with zeal for preserving the public peace, and supporting the constitution of their country. Numerous associations were formed against republican principles; loyal addresses poured in from all quarters; and the pulpit and the press were equally employed to recommend social order, and to disseminate and enforce those maxims, which had raised Britain to a state of unexampled political happiness.

Parliament led the way in every measure, which could add to our internal security; and the infamous fraternizing decree of the French having excited just alarm and indignation, a bill was passed, by which his majesty should be empowered to order aliens to quit the kingdom, as circumstances might justify or policy require. At the same time, the exportation of corn into France was stopped; and it was evident to all discerning men that hostilities could be at no great distance.

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The French revolutionists loudly complained of those measures, as infractions of the commercial treaty between the two nations, without considering that by decreeing fraternity and assistance to the revolting subjects of every monarchical government, they had justly irritated every ruler, and endangered the repose of every peaceable subject. They likewise resolved to open the navigation of the Scheldt, which this country was bound by treaty to resist; and in the frenzy of innovation, and in defiance of the most sacred oaths, having abolished monarchy, and established a republic in France, all relations formerly subsisting between the two nations, were virtually suspended or dissolved. The royal family of France, after having the anguish to see their friends and faithful guards overcome and murdered, were obliged to take refuge in the national assembly; and soon afterwards were sent, by this unfeeling body, to the prison of the Temple.

Aug. 10, 1792.

When legitimate government is overthrown, a road is opened for the wildest theories, and for the perpetration of the grossest crimes. The party which had usurped all power in France, not satisfied with deposing and imprisoning their king, proceeded to atrocities, which to relate in simple terms, would turn humanity pale. They broke into the prisons, and murdered all those who had been confined for imputed sentiments of loyalty, proving that the opinion of Voltaire was perfectly correct, when he says, that the character of a Frenchman is composed of the different qualities of the monkey and the tiger. On this occasion, the princess Lamballe was one of the many vic-

Sep. 2.

tims to their infernal vengeance; and her fate was attended with such circumstances of horror as could scarcely enter the imagination of man.

The measure of their crimes, however, was not yet filled up. Louis XVI. the mildest and most inoffensive of a long line of kings, was brought to trial, and sentenced to lose his life. He conducted himself with a firmness and christian resignation, which would have done honour to a martyr, and suffered the punishment of the guillotine, on the twenty-first of January.

A. D. 1793.

His queen, the sister of the emperor of Germany, his guiltless sister, and many of his friends, soon after followed him to the grave, by public authorised murders; while the dauphin, whose tender age, even in the opinion of the monsters who now presided over the destiny of France, would not sanction capital punishment, was left to die in prison, and the princess Maria Theresa Charlotta, the only remaining issue of Louis XVI. and Antoinetta of Austria, after suffering every indignity, during a long imprisonment, that the most refined malice could inflict, was set at liberty, and has since been married to her cousin the duke d'Angoulesme.

The parliament of Great Britain being sitting, when intelligence was received that the king of France had been put to death, advantage was taken of the sensation which this melancholy event produced, to unite all parties in the vigorous prosecution of a war, for which preparations had long been making. Chauvelin, the accredited ambassador from Louis XVI. was ordered to quit the kingdom, and the French republicans were not long before they declared

war

war against the king of Great Britain, and the prince of Orange, as stadtholder of the United Provinces.

The necessity of this war, which was actively undertaken by this country without any formal declaration, was warmly disputed in parliament; but, as is too frequently the case, the arguments of opposition only strengthened the cause of the enemy. The troops of Great Britain, under the command of the duke of York, having joined those of Austria and Prussia, the combined armies defeated the French generals Valence, Miranda, and Dumourier, and took the cities of Valenciennes and Condé. After this favourable commencement of the campaign, the duke of York made an attempt on Dunkirk; but not being supported by a fleet which he expected to find on the coast, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise, and to retire with great loss.

The family compact being at an end by the tragical events which had taken place in France, the Spaniards joined the coalition; and the ships of that country, and an English fleet under lord Hood, proceeding to Toulon, that important naval arsenal was surrendered to them, in the name of Louis XVII. and garrisoned with eighteen thousand men of different nations. It was not long, however, before the republicans, collecting a large irregular force, attacked it on the land side, and such was their impetuosity, that the allies were obliged to withdraw, after setting fire to and destroying the greatest part of the shipping and stores of the enemy, which time would not allow them to carry off.

Meanwhile, those dreams of glory with which the campaign had commenced, began to vanish, and Robes- A. D. 1793.

spierre and the jacobins having triumphed over the Brissotine faction, the reign of terror was fully established in France; while the enthusiasm that the idea of liberty had communicated to its troops, rendered them more formidable than ever. On the Rhine, their successes were great; and the confederates, acting without any regularly concerted plan, shewed alternate vigour and irresolution.

At home, sedition was advancing with rapid strides to overturn the fabric of our constitution, which the wisdom of ages had reared; and, several persons of talents having lent their aid to promote these nefarious schemes, were brought to trial. By the severity of the laws of Scotland, some of them being convicted of sedition in that country, were sentenced to be transported to Botany Bay, which was accordingly put in execution; but the champions of confusion in England, who had been indicted for treason, were all eventually acquitted, which gave a temporary triumph to the democratic faction.

A. D. 1794. About this time, an alarm of an invasion having been spread throughout the kingdom, great exertions were made to put the country in a proper state of defence, and military associations were sanctioned and established in all parts, for that patriotic purpose. The ardour with which young men of all ranks entered into these corps, equally damped the resolution of domestic traitors, and foreign foes, and the preparations which had been made to annoy us, began to slacken, and at last were entirely dropped.

On the continent, the arms of the allies, from a want of cordial co-operation, had experienced many

many reverses; but the spirits of the British were roused to an unusual degree of elevation, by a glorious naval victory obtained, by that gallant veteran, lord Howe, over the French fleet, which had ventured from Brest harbour, for the purpose of protecting an expected convoy of merchantmen. In this action, which was warmly contested, the French were totally defeated, with the loss of six ships of the line taken, and three sunk. The French fleet consisted of twenty-six sail, and the English of twenty-five. June 1, 1794.

In the West Indies, Martinico, St. Lucie, and Guadaloupe, fell under the power of the English; and, in the East, the capture of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Mahie, conferred fresh lustre on the arms of Britain. In short, in almost every enterprize, where the English were singly engaged, they were completely succeesful, while as allies they participated in all the reverses and defeats of their continental connections.

After the evacuation of Toulon, lord Hood besieged, and took the island of Corsica, the crown of which was afterwards accepted by his majesty, and a viceroy was sent to govern that little kingdom; but it was not long before policy, or necessity, compelled this country to abandon a spot, which would ever have been attended with more expence than advantage.

In France, the sanguinary reign of terror was terminated, by the overthrow of Robespierre; but under every successive faction, it was found that the arms of the republic prevailed on the continent, and at once Germany, Spain, and Italy felt their irresistible force. The invasion of

of the United Provinces being also facilitated by the severity of the frost, which furnished a passage to the French over rivers and canals, that country was speedily *fraternized*, and from long being treacherous friends, the Dutch now began to be our open enemies. The stadtholder, with his family, took refuge in England, and had Hampton court assigned for his residence.

Meanwhile Poland, overwhelmed by foreign despotism, was blotted out from the number of European kingdoms, and its territories divided among the Prussians, Russians, and Austrians.

During these transactions a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between the British and the United States of America, which seemed to revive the sentiments of reciprocal regard and affection, which had so long subsisted between the kindred nations.

An attempt was likewise made to obtain some commercial advantages from the emperor of China, and an embassy, conducted by earl Macartney, was dispatched with great pomp to the eastern regions for that purpose; but though the Chinese were abundantly civil, they strictly adhered to their original and characteristic policy, and after presents were interchanged, it was hinted that the speedy departure of the strangers would be agreeable.

In consequence of the reverses which had attended the arms of the allied powers, warm debates took place in the British parliament, and peace was earnestly recommended by the leaders of opposition, without stating on what grounds it would be practicable. Another victory by sea, however, gained by lord Bridport, close in with l'Orient, tended

A. D. 1795.

to

to keep the spirits of the people alive, and to convince them that they were invulnerable on their native element. Three ships of the line were captured in this action; and had not our fleet been too near a lee shore, the fruits of the victory, in all probability, would have been much more considerable.

In the spring of this year, his royal highness the prince of Wales contracted a matrimonial alliance with his cousin, the princess Caroline of Brunswick, an event which gave great joy to the nation, whose liberality was conspicuous on this occasion, in adjusting the affairs of his royal highness, and making a proper settlement in future, for the support of his household.

The price of bread being extremely dear, from the failure of the preceding crop, various disturbances broke out among the poor, in different parts of the kingdom; and as the difficulties under which they laboured were in a great measure ascribed by them to the war, the seditious took advantage of this sentiment, to lead them into the most detestable excesses. Not only were assemblies of the disaffected held in fields and other places, where the leaders harangued the multitude in the most inflammatory language; but even violent measures were resorted to, equally disgraceful to the national character, and abhorrent from its general feelings. On the first day of the meeting of parliament, his majesty was grossly insulted in passing to the house of lords by a furious mob, and though a reward of one thousand pounds was immediately offered by proclamation, for the discovery of any person concerned in such shameful outrages,

none

none of the more flagrant offenders were detected.

Under such circumstances, it need not be matter of surprize, that two bills passed through both houses of parliament, which ministry at any other period would not have ventured to have introduced. One was for the better security of his majesty's person, by extending the laws of treason; the other for the more effectual prevention of seditious meetings and assemblies. By these strong measures, particularly the last, the power of magistrates was prodigiously strengthened, and it was rendered penal for more than fifty persons, to meet on any political discussions, without giving previous notice, and obtaining the sanction of those to whom power was legitimately delegated.

A violent outcry was raised by the democratic party against these new laws; but, on the other hand, their necessity was acknowledged, and their utility confessed, by the friends of order and good government.

This year the English, assisted by the French emigrants, were baffled at Quiberon; but that valuable settlement the Cape of Good Hope, and part of Ceylon were wrested from the Dutch.

Meanwhile the king of Prussia, though subsidized by England, withdrew from the confederacy, and made his peace with France; while Spain, in danger of being wholly ruined, was obliged to make the best terms it could obtain, with the daring and unprincipled republicans.

Towards the close of the year, a royal message, of a pacific nature, was delivered to both houses

houses of parliament, purporting that as the government of France had assumed somewhat of a regular form, his majesty was now inclined to listen to any disposition to negotiate, on the part of the enemy, and to conclude a treaty of general peace, whenever it could be effected on just and equitable terms, for himself and his allies. Accordingly an overture of this nature was made on the part of his Britannic majesty to the French government; but it was so captiously, not to say insolently received, that it was impossible to take any farther steps towards attaining the object in view.

In the West Indies, the British arms had been generally successful, during this campaign, and in some other scenes of action they had maintained their usual lustre; but the French, under General Bonaparte, had made a rapid progress in Italy,* while in Germany, they were alternately victors, and vanquished. On the whole, however, the probability of ultimately subduing them, became more faint and remote; they had risen superior to every defeat; and amidst the fluctuations of their internal government, or rather amidst the wildest anarchy, an impetus had been constantly communicated to the armies, which, instead of being spent, seemed to acquire new force from

A.D. 1796.

* It was in this campaign that Napoleone Bonaparte, a young Corsican, of the most intrepid courage, and the most insatiable ambition, first rose into public notice. He diffused the terror of the French arms among the Italian States; and wherever he marched, victory seemed to attend his steps. From this period, he makes a prominent figure on the stage of the world, nor has fortune, after seating him on the throne of the Bourbons, yet shewn herself fickle to her favourite.

every object to which it was applied. Hence the love of peace became more and more felt by the British and the Austrians, who now alone remained of the grand confederacy which had been formed against France; but in proportion as the enemy was successful, he became insolent also, and would not deign to listen to equal terms of accommodation.

The United Provinces being now converted into a republic, after the French model, under the title of Batavia, and of consequence an ally to republican France, it became exposed to hostilities from this country, whose arms, likewise, by a singular fatality, were obliged to be turned against Spain, which had originally fought on our side.

By sea, the lustre of our arms continued unsullied. Admiral Elphinstone captured a large Dutch fleet, near the Cape of Good Hope: and every individual officer in the navy, who had any opportunity of engaging with an enemy, seemed to be animated with the same spirit of daring, and, in general, came off with merited success. Captain Trollope, in the Glatton, in particular, gained immortal honour in an engagement with a French squadron of eight vessels, at least thrice his own strength, which, however, he beat off.

The patriotism of the nation kept pace with the courage of its defenders. A loan of eighteen millions was raised by voluntary subscription in less than sixteen hours; and every effort was made, both by arms and by negotiation, to bring the war to an honourable conclusion. With a view of effecting this, lord Malmesbury was sent as plenipotentiary to Paris; but after some time

was

was spent in fruitless discussion, he was given to understand that his proposals were inadmissible, and he was ordered to quit Paris in forty-eight hours, and the French territority with as much expedition as possible.

A. D. 1796.

In Ireland, the spirit of disaffection had risen to the most alarming height, and deputies from the united Irishmen had actually solicited and obtained assistance in their criminal schemes. An invasion of that country was projected, and seventeen sail of the line, with many smaller vessels, carrying eighteen thousand men, were sent out from the coast of France; but the winds being unfavourable, though part of the armament reached Bantry bay, they made no attempt to land, and at last were obliged to return with some loss.

A. D. 1797.

Soon after, an invasion of Wales was attempted; but on such a contracted scale as to excite ridicule rather than terror. The men who disembarked were all made prisoners of war, without daring to shew resistance.

About the same time the agreeable intelligence arrived of a signal naval victory, obtained off Cape St. Vincent, by sir John Jervis. This gallant officer, commanding fifteen sail of the line, fell in with a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail, and, after an engagement of five hours, in which the vast superiority of British tactics, skill, and bravery, was displayed, captured four of the number. As a reward for this eminent service, he was created earl St. Vincent, in allusion to the scene of action, and afterwards obtained a pension.

In the beginning of this year it was judged

 expedient

expedient to stop the payment in specie at the bank. This strong measure, as it evidently appeared to be the result of policy, and not of necessity, produced no great sensation of inquietude in the public mind: the notes of the bank passed as freely as ever, and for the accommodation of the public an immense number of one and two pounds value were now first issued.

The heavy weight of taxes, the extravagance and profusion that pervaded every department of the state, and the frustration of all the plans which had been laid for reducing the exorbitant power of France, or restoring a form of government to her, that would in some measure assimilate with those of her neighbours, having been long and deeply felt, all ranks and descriptions of men began to be dissatisfied with the general conduct of administration, and many were loud in their clamours for a change of men and measures. Yet so much had the continuance of Mr. Pitt in power been identified with the preservation of the constitution, that the higher orders continued to give him their unequivocal support, and the voice of the lower ranks was drowned in the applauses they conferred on his exertions and his talents.

Hitherto the nation had looked up to the navy with a well-grounded confidence, and placed both its glory and its defence in the valour of its sailors; but a sudden cloud spread an alarming gloom over the fair prospect on which Britons have ever been taught to look with peculiar satisfaction. A serious mutiny broke out among the seamen of the channel fleet lying at Spithead; but on obtaining an increase of pay, which the circumstances of the times and their own merits rendered

rendered not unreasonable, order and discipline were speedily re-established among them.

Scarcely, however, was this insurrection appeased, before another, still more furious and menacing, broke out among some ships at Sheerness, which were joined by others of the same refractory disposition. New and extravagant demands were dictated to the admiralty, delegates were chosen to conduct the meeting, and one Richard Parker was appointed admiral of the mutinous fleet. The firmness of government, supported by the united voice of the legislature, soon taught these infatuated men that they had nothing farther to expect, after their just demands were gratified, and dissensions beginning to prevail among them, ship by ship submitted to lawful authority. Many of the ringleaders, among whom was Parker, suffered deserved punishment; pardon was generously extended to the rest; and with the true feelings of British seamen, they anxiously wished to have some opportunity of wiping off this disgrace, which they had rashly brought upon their character.

It was not long before many of them obtained what they so ardently sought. Admiral Duncan, who had long been engaged in blocking up the Dutch fleet in the Texel, being driven from his station by the weather, allowed them to venture out. Scarcely, however, had they got clear of the land, when the British fleet returned, and forced them to an engagement. The action was extremely obstinate; but, at last, nine of the largest ships, and two admirals, were the trophies of British prowess. For this service, the gallant admiral was raised to the peerage, by the stile and title of

Oct. 14, 1797.

of lord viscount Duncan, of Camperdown, off which place his victory was atchieved.

Rear-admiral Nelson, who had distinguished himself in lord St. Vincent's engagement with the Spanish fleet, was, soon after that glorious enterprise, sent with a flotilla to make a nocturnal attack on the town of Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe. The mole was stormed, but though prodigies of valour were exhibited, it was found impossible to get possession of the fort: the valiant admiral lost an arm, and 150 men were either killed or wounded in the assault.

After every fresh victory, instead of rising in its pretensions, the British government seemed desirous to gratify the people, by making overtures of peace. Lord Malmesbury was again commissioned to proceed to Lisle; but after long conferences, in which nothing decisive was settled, the violence of Barras, one of the French directors, oversetting his associates, and rendering any accommodation not only more difficult, but almost impracticable, on any fair terms, the British plenipotentiary found it prudent to return.

About this time, however, the Austrians being completely discomfited in Italy, they were induced to sign a definitive treaty with the French republic, at Campo Formio; and thus Great Britain was left singly to contend with the French usurpers, who were not slow to avail themselves of the advantages which fortune had put into their power.

In parliament, the debates were very animated on the causes which had produced the failure of
A. D. 1798. the negotiation at Lisle. A new scheme of taxation was adopted, by trebling the assessed taxes, in order to diminish the loan;

loan; and that the funds, which had suffered an extraordinary depression, might be somewhat relieved, the chancellor of the exchequer brought in a bill for the redemption of the land tax, which had previously been rendered perpetual. This last measure, which certainly did credit to the financial talents of Mr. Pitt, owing to the pressure of circumstances, has never been fully carried into effect, and there is too much reason to fear that it will be a long time before it can produce all that was expected from it.

The French, disengaged from the opposition of Austria, had time and opportunity to foment the treasons which had long been rankling in the bosoms of the united Irishmen. These deluded people had formed an extensive conspiracy against government, and, stimulated by some persons of rank and consequence among them, had perpetrated the most savage cruelties on such as were of opposite principles. At last, the country was obliged to be put under martial law, and some of the principal traitors having been themselves betrayed, their wretched adherents, finding concealment any longer impossible, broke out into open rebellion.

It is painful to enter into the details of murders and atrocities, which would have disgraced natural enemies. We wish a veil to be thrown over them for ever, and that every component part of the British empire may from henceforth be united among themselves, and wield the arms of war against foreign foes alone. Numbers of the insurgents fell, yet if they sought revenge, they more than sufficiently retaliated, and when they could no longer keep the field, they indulged in the most barbarous excesses in secret.

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At last earl Camden was recalled, and the marquis Cornwallis, who to the highest personal character united splendid military talents, was appointed his successor in the viceroyalty of Ireland. In a short time after his arrival, he published a proclamation, offering his majesty's pardon to such of the rebels as should surrender themselves and their arms, in fourteen days. This had the desired effect; and though parties of the insurgents made their appearance afterwards, in different quarters, the king's troops every where prevailed, and awed them into submission or concealment.

On an investigation which afterwards took place in parliament, it appeared, that in the province of Ulster alone there were one hundred thousand United Irishmen, armed with pikes; but being disconcerted before their measures were ripe for execution, they spread themselves over the other provinces, and corrupted as many as they could find disposed to be the dupes and the victims of their criminal designs.

From some cause not sufficiently accounted for, the French most providentially were not prepared to throw in supplies, till the rebels were at the last gasp. At length, however, on the 22d of August, three French frigates landed about seven hundred men in the bay of Killala, and taking possession of the town and castle, which latter was the residence of the bishop, after some petty successes, they ventured to penetrate farther into the country; but on the 8th of September they were forced to surrender to a column commanded by general Lake. So completely had the Irish rebels been beat or intimidated, that few, comparatively

A. D. 1798.

speaking

speaking, joined the invaders, and of such a general slaughter was made, in the action which terminated the career of their deluders.

In the month of May, general Coote, with a handful of men, making a descent in the Netherlands, with heroic bravery and good conduct, destroyed the sluice-gates of the grand canal of Bruges, and burnt several gun-boats and a number of transports; but the enemy collecting in considerable force, before he could retire from the coast, he was compelled to surrender, with his little army.

Vast preparations had been making for some time at Toulon, for an expedition of uncommon magnitude, to be conducted by general Bonaparte. Its destination was involved in impenetrable secrecy, and it had the good fortune to elude all the vigilance of our ships in the Mediterranean, on its putting to sea. In its progress, Malta surrendered to it, by the treachery of some of the chiefs of that island; and steering its course for Egypt, the French debarked their forces in that country, which they speedily overran, though not without a spirited opposition from the Mamelukes.

Admiral Nelson, who had been appointed, with a strong squadron, to watch the motions of this armament, at last discovered the fleet, which had conducted it, safely moored in the bay of Aboukir. Without hesitation, he ordered an immediate attack; and, after a dreadful conflict, a complete victory rewarded his skill, and the gallantry of the other British officers and sailors. Nine ships of the line were taken, and two burnt; in one of the latter of which was the French admiral. Only two ships of the line escaped of the

the whole fleet, and had not the resources of Bonaparte's mind been equal to the emergency, the expedition by land must have totally failed also. For this service, the admiral was created lord Nelson, of the Nile, and received a pension of 2000l. a year, besides other honours and distinctions from foreign powers, who united in their admiration of the victor.

Provoked by the French invasion of Egypt, the Grand Seignior now declared war against that nation; but still more important benefits to the cause of Europe were expected from the co-operation of the arms of Russia. The emperor Paul was panegyrized for his magnanimity in coming forward on this occasion; but though his barbarian general, Suwarroff, was for a time successful, from the caprice of his master, who soon changed sides, nothing permanent was effected by this new ally, in the defence of social order.

The English reduced Minorca, in this campaign; but were constrained to evacuate St. Domingo, which had proved the grave of many British soldiers and sailors, and a vortex of revenue.

The same year Mr. Pitt, finding his financial resources almost exhausted, had recourse to an inquisitorial tax on income, which was more grating to the feelings of Englishmen, from the vexation it occasioned, than it was productive to the government that raised it.

A measure, however, which will immortalize the memory of the late premier, and, we hope, deserve the lasting gratitude of both countries, was his projected Union with Ireland, which, after being canvassed with great attention in England,

England, and violently opposed in Ireland, was at last carried into effect, on principles peculiarly favourable to the real interests of the latter country. On this subject, however, the wisest and best men in both nations were much divided, and time alone can confirm, or refute, the maxims by which they were actuated.

We have already noticed that peace had been concluded between the emperor of Germany and the French, by the treaty of Campo Formio; but the former soon found a fair pretext for re-arming, and joining the confederacy against the republicans.

The Russians speedily gave a new turn to the war in Italy, while the English recovered Naples for its lawful sovereign, and under the able and valiant conduct of sir Sidney Smith, repelled a French invasion of Syria, headed by Bonaparte himself.

A. D. 1799.

The perfidious and treacherous behaviour of Tippoo Sultan, having given rise to a new war in India, general Harris, with equal success and expedition, made himself master of Seringapatam, in storming which the tyrant of the Mysore fell in action, and with him the empire which his father had established. Immense treasures rewarded the victors, and the British possessions in India, which were menaced both by the French in Egypt, and Tippoo, their confederate, were in a great measure freed from danger.

A grand expedition against Holland had been long preparing, which was undertaken chiefly in expectation of support from the partisans of the prince of Orange. The army, under the command of sir Ralph Abercrombie, landed on

he

the 27th of August, near the Helder Point, which was carried, after a long and a sharp conflict. Soon after, however, the duke of York assuming the chief command, the enemy having assembled in great force, and the season being too far advanced to suffer them to continue in the field, in a hostile country, the British were baffled in their attempts of rescuing Holland from the grasp of France, and obliged to return with great loss.

By a singular instance of good fortune, Bonaparte, having left the army he commanded in Egypt, in spite of all the vigilance of our cruisers, reached the shores of France. He was received by a faction with great enthusiasm, and availing himself of his popularity, he assumed the principal direction of the affairs of that still distracted, though victorious people, and gave a new form to the government, which, in the space of ten years, had already undergone repeated changes.

Scarcely had he mounted the consular throne, before he made overtures of accommodation to the English government, but these being rejected, on the plea, that his continuance in power might be as unstable as that of his predecessors, he turned his attention to the other belligerent powers, against whom he was equally successful in arms as in political address. At Marengo, he

June 14, 1800. gave the Austrians a most signal defeat, on which the emperor again consented to a negotiation, and by the definitive treaty of Luneville the fate of Germany was sealed.

Meanwhile Malta was obliged to submit to the arms of England, after a blockade of two

years,

years, and the French seeing their affairs in Egypt almost desperate, entered into a treaty for evacuating that country. The British government, however, unhappily refusing to ratify this convention, which had been formed under the auspices of sir Sidney Smith, the French assumed courage from despair, and in order to dislodge them from this province, without which our India possessions could neither have been secure, nor peace attainable, that approved veteran, sir Ralph Abercrombie, was sent against them, with a powerful army.

The details of his operations have already been given to the world in volumes: suffice it to say, in this place, that on the 21st of March, 1801, he defeated the French general, Menou, with great loss, but was mortally wounded in the action, and died a few days after, universally beloved and lamented for his private virtues, as well as for his military talents. The business of completing the reduction of Egypt now devolved on general Hutchinson, and this being effectuated, paved the way to a general peace.

But we are anticipating events. The failure of two succeeding crops had occasioned a scarcity of corn; to obviate which, large importations were made, and every kind of retrenchment and œconomy in the use of bread was recommended by government, and generally adopted by individuals. Notwithstanding these precautions, the price of corn rose to a most exorbitant height, and the distresses of the lower, and more especially of the middle ranks of society, amidst the accumulated ills of famine and war, were such as could scarcely admit of aggravation. Yet to the honour of the country be it known, that charity

charity was never more extensively diffused, or patience more fully exemplified, than on this trying occasion; and if there were some partial riots and disturbances, they were frequently as much to be pitied as they were to be condemned.

The union of Great Britain and Ireland being fixed by the legislature to commence and be in force from the first day of the nineteenth century, the imperial parliament of both islands met at Westminster, on the 22d of January, and on the 2d of next month his majesty opened the session with a gracious speech in which he avowed his intention of putting a termination to the war, as soon as the honour and safety of his dominions could be secured.

A. D. 1801.

About this time, however, the emperor of Russia had not only withdrawn himself from the confederacy against France, but had stimulated Denmark and Sweden to enter into an armed neutrality against this country. In consequence of a convention to this purpose signed at Petersburgh by the northern powers the British court found it adviseable to lay an embargo on the vessels of the contracting parties, and to prepare for vigorous hostilities.

In the beginning of February, the prospect of this country, indeed, was sufficiently gloomy. Without a single ally, there was scarcely a port which was not shut against us, and in this posture of affairs, Mr. Pitt, who had swayed the cabinet for so many years, determined to resign. He was followed by the greatest part of the efficient ministers who had acted with him, and Mr. Addington, speaker of the house of commons, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, lord Hawkesbury,

Hawkesbury, secretary of state for the fo[r]
department, and earl St. Vincent, first lor[d]
the admiralty.

A febrile indisposition seizing the king before the new arrangements could be completed, Mr. Pitt continued for some weeks to perform his usual functions; and with a generosity not very common among public men, brought forward the supplies for the year, to the amount of forty-two millions, that the popularity of his friend, the new premier, might not be affected by the burdens which he would have been called on to impose, before he could have been well seated in his office.

The Danes and Swedes were speedily deprived of the islands they held in the West Indies, and a British squadron, under admiral sir Hyde Parker and lord Nelson, being dispatched to open the Baltic, an engagement took place at Copenhagen, which had been strongly fortified, when the result was a complete victory on the part of the English, chiefly gained by the intrepid conduct of lord Nelson. After this bloody battle, an armistice was agreed on, and the emperor of Russia, Paul, being succeeded by his son, Alexander, a prince of a mild and pacific disposition, the northern confederacy fell to the ground, and peace was restored between us and the nations which composed it.

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About three months after, admiral sir James Saumarez defeated the rear of the combined French and Spanish fleets, with considerable loss to the latter power; and, as a last effort, the republicans menacing an invasion of this country, in order to chastise their insolence, lor[d]

Nelson

...on was sent to destroy a flotilla at Boulogne. ... lordship displayed his usual bravery, but ...une did not crown his endeavours on this occasion, and the loss of captain Parker, and of ma y brave sailors, more than counterbalanced all t e injuries he inflicted on the foe.

The French being now dispossessed of Egypt, and finding it impossible to make any impression on our coasts, while our naval power was so much superior, listened to the voice of humanity; and, after a tedious negotiation, in which many opposite interests were to be adjusted, preliminaries of peace were signed on the first of October, to the unbounded joy of the united kingdom. The terms, however, were far from giving universal satisfaction, and many saw in them the seeds of a new war, at no great distance; but a definitive treaty being arranged on the basis established, it was signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March following, by the respective plenipotentiaries of the two governments, marquis Cornwallis and Joseph Bonaparte; and the nations of Europe, after being so long harassed and afflicted by the wars arising out of the French revolution, seemed glad to slumber in the arms of peace, though not unconscious that ambition might soon awake them.

A. D. 1801.

A. D. 1802.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ...

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